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EARLY
MEMOIRS OF THE STILWELL FAMILY,
COMPRISING THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
NICHOLAS STILWELL,
THE COMMON ANCESTOR OF THE NUMEROUS FAMILIES
BEARING THAT SURNAME.
WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF
HIS BROTHERS JOHN AND JASPER,
AND INCIDENTALLY
A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF MANHATTAN ISLAND AND
ITS VICINITY, UNDER THE DUTCH,
WITH SOME CONTRIBUTIONS TO
A GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY.
BY
BENJ. MARSHALL STILWELL.

NEW YORK:
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PREFATORY.

It has been given to but few, in any age, to achieve greatness; while to have had greatness thrust upon them, has been the lot of a still less number. The mass, therefore, of those who claim superiority over their fellows, must base their pretensions upon the fact that they were born great; that though they have not themselves contributed anything to the treasury of history, they are heirs or of kin to those who have; and with the blood and estates of the latter, they have inherited a portion of the credit due them for their achievements.

Genealogical research, having for its object the investigation and recording of the grounds upon which such claims are founded, is not without its value; for the knowledge that one has even such vicarious claims to superiority, will incite in him a laudable ambition to follow those who have re-

flected honor upon him, and thus "leave his own footprints on the sands of time."

What it was in the lives of one's progenitors that has been deemed worthy of remembrance, is apparently of little moment, for the whirligig of time brings its revenges, and acts, which in one age are branded as crimes, in the next are lauded as virtues; and deeds, which in former times were done with prayer, by pious men, who hoped thereby to merit the favor of heaven, are looked upon by us with abhorrence.

Vulgar crimes and criminals are soon forgotten; it is only when those who have defied the law, and suffered its terrible penalties, have done so in support or defence of what they believed to be rights or principles, that their names and acts are embalmed in history; and posterity honors them none the less, though time may have shown that they were in the wrong, or that the cause in which they suffered was unworthy of the sacrifice.

Those who, in the reign of Charles the Second, were executed as malefactors—as murderers of their king—are now honored, as patriots who defended the liberties of their country at the expense of their lives; and those who, in the early days of our history were ignominiously whipped at the cart's-

tail, and put to death as "Quakers," are now revered as "men of whom the world was not worthy."

The Stilwell family may justly be proud that they inherit the blood of John Cooke, who, in 1660, was tried and executed as a traitor; for he was one of those known in history as the regicides, who, in 1648, delivered English liberty for a time from the incubus of the house of Stuart. But like all great reformers, they were in advance of their age, and it was not until many years after their death, that England discovered they were in the right, and ratified and consummated their acts by the revolution of 1688.

And with equal pride we trace descent from Nicholas Stilwell, whose opinions in matters of religion, and as to the authority of the priesthood,—equally intolerable to the Puritans of New England and to the Conformists of Virginia,—made him "an outcast of each church and state," and compelled him to seek refuge in the wilderness, among the savages then inhabiting Manhattan Island.

Nor need we blush that our blood was early mingled with that of Obadiah Holmes, whose cruel persecutions and patient sufferings as a "Quaker," have given him a place in history.

But if there were nothing in the lives of our progenitors specially calculated to minister to our pride of ancestry, their history would still concern us; for they were among the pioneers of civilization, who first penetrated these wilds, then known as New Netherlands, and prepared the foundations upon which has been built the metropolis of the western world; and a relation of their sufferings and trials, their contests with the wilderness and its savage inhabitants, and their acts and doings in the infancy of the country, could not be without interest to their descendants.

Down to a recent period, there were but few and indistinct traces to be found, by which we might follow the footsteps of our forefathers, the first English settlers upon Manhattan Island, and their history rested chiefly in tradition; but the documents relative to the early history of New York, which by the liberality of the State government, and the intelligent industry of its agents, have been gathered from the archives of Holland and England, and placed within our reach, have given us full and precise information in regard to all public affairs in which they took part in those early days; while the translation of the Dutch records of the Colony of New Netherland, in the

office of the Secretary of State at Albany, and of the records of New Amsterdam, in the public offices of the City of New York, have furnished us the means of becoming as well acquainted with the local affairs and transactions of our ancestors upon Manhattan Island and its vicinity, as if we had lived in their midst.

From these sources, and from the general history of the times, in which they acted no inconsiderable part, as well as from private records and received traditions of the family, this account of its early history has been compiled. That portion now submitted, "The life and times of Nicholas Stilwell," its common ancestor, with a sketch of the principal events in the life of his brother John, and some incidental reference to the third brother, Jasper, comprises the history of the first generation of the family in this country, bringing it down to the year 1671, the date of the death of Nicholas Stilwell, the first of the name.

But our forefathers were not only among those who prepared the foundations, they also assisted at each step in building the superstructure of that magnificent fabric, which now fitly wears the title of the "Empire State."

Among the first judges appointed to interpret

and administer the Colonial laws of New York, were three sons of Nicholas—Richard, Thomas, and Nicholas Stilwell, the second of the name, who respectively held commissions from Charles the Second, James the Second, and William and Mary. The earliest records of our courts, still preserved, bear witness to the wisdom and impartiality with which they performed their duties; and continuously since, for now two hundred years, some of their descendants have held, and still hold, judicial stations of more or less prominence.

In the legislative and political history of the State the family have occupied no inconsiderable position from the earliest times to the present day. Nicholas Stilwell, the second of the name, was a prominent member of the first Colonial Assembly, convened in 1691, the acts passed at which, are the earliest recognized laws of the State of New York.

Richard Stilwell of Gravesend, as a delegate from Kings County, took part in the deliberations of the first Provincial Congress, which met in New York in May, 1775; and since the organization of the State government the name of some member of the family has at all times appeared upon the roll of the legislature; and we may well point with pride to the fact, that it is to a member of this family that

the world is indebted for that great legislative act which will make the nineteenth century conspicuous in the history of the progress of civilization, the "Act to abolish imprisonment for debt," passed in 1831, which, in honor of its author, the Hon. Silas M. Stilwell, is called the "Stilwell Act." Nor will, posterity forget its great indebtedness to him for that system of finance, by which the country was enabled to sustain the burthen of the great rebellion.

The reputation of Nicholas Stilwell, the first of the name, as a soldier, has been worthily supported by his descendants. The achievements of General Garrett Stilwell, and of Col. Richard Stilwell, who respectively held important commands during the revolutionary war, will be read with pride and interest, by those of their blood or kin; and whenever, since, the country has called upon its sons to defend her, upon the rolls of honor, have always been found the names of many of the family.

The mantle of John, the regicide, as a preacher, has fallen upon the shoulders of many of his descendants, who have worn it not unworthily. His grandchildren were among the founders of the Baptist Church in America; and the "silver tongue" of his grandson, Richard Stilwell, of Staten Island, was heard in the First Baptist Church in New York,

built in 1724, on Golden Hill, in the City of New York.

John Stilwell, the grandfather of the Hon. Silas M. Stilwell, was one of the first and most noted preachers of the Methodist persuasion.

William Stilwell, the grandfather of the Hon. Samuel Stilwell Powell, twice Mayor of Brooklyn, is still remembered among the Quakers as a "great preacher," when the spirit moved him. And it has been the good fortune of many still living to have listened to the eloquence of the late William Stilwell, who for thirty years occupied the pulpit of the Methodist Church, and whose light last shone in the Christie Street Church, New York; a slight measure of whose popularity is found in the fact, that during his ministry he was called upon eight thousand times to perform the marriage ceremony, and seven thousand times to perform the last solemn rites over the graves of those who, while living, had listened to his teachings.

A mass of materials has been collected for the subsequent history of the family, and particularly of the second generation,—those who swarmed from the parent hive and founded the numerous branches of the family, now widely scattered; but the arrangement of these materials for publication

has been delayed in the hope that the appearance of the present volume would induce others of the family, having records or information in regard to the early history of their respective branches, to communicate the same to the undersigned, in order that the history of the second and subsequent generations of the family may be made as complete as possible.

BENJ. M. STILWELL.

NEW YORK, Jan., 1876.

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THE STILWELL FAMILY.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

STILWELL FAMILY.

CHAPTER I.

THREE BROTHERS, DRIVEN FROM ENGLAND BY PERSECUTION, FIRST FIND REFUGE IN HOLLAND, ASSUME THE NAME OF STILLWELL—
TRADITIONS AS TO ORIGIN OF NAME, ORIGINAL SURNAME, AND
EARLY HISTORY OF THE FAMILY.

Among the pilgrims who, in the early part of the seventeenth century, sought in these western wilds a refuge from civil and religious persecution, were three brothers, respectively known as Nicholas, Jasper and John Stillwell. One of these, Nicholas Stillwell, was the common ancestor of the numerous families bearing that surname, now widely scattered through the world.

Driven from their ancestral home in England, during the reign of Charles the First, by those tyrannical and oppressive measures through which that monarch and his prelates sought to impose upon an unwilling people, uniformity in religion and despotism in the state, those brothers had wandered as fugitives and in disguise, until they found means to escape to the friendly shores of Holland.

There, under the mild protection of the Batavian Government, they had enjoyed that freedom, for the sake of which they had resigned many of the comforts and enjoyments of home; but their hearts had still yearned toward the land which had given them birth; and it was only when the increasing troubles in England had left them no prospect of being able to return in peace to their native land, that they had turned their eyes toward the New World.

In the Colonies then lately planted by their countrymen in New England, they had seen a means of reconciling, in a measure, their ideas of civil and religious duty, with their affection for their country; for there, while living under the protection of their own government, they had hoped to be free from its persecutions. Those distant settlements had seemed to hold out their hands, and invite the weary pilgrims to come over and share their fertile fields, and plant and sit under the shade of their own vines and fig-trees, with no one to molest or make them afraid.

Allured by this prospect, they had gathered up the wreck of their fortunes, and, bidding a final adieu to the home and the haunts of their childhood, their kindred and friends, and all the associations and refinements of civilized life, had set out to seek a new home, with civil and religious liberty, in the wilds of America.

There is a tradition in the different branches of the family, that it was at this time their present

surname, (indifferently spelled Stilwell, or Stillwell,) was adopted. That when, by their participation in some of the religious or political troubles of the time, these brothers had rendered themselves obnoxious to the government, or to the ecclesiastical authorities, and were compelled to seek safety in flight, not knowing whither they should direct their steps, they had arranged with their friends on leaving home, that whenever either of them found a safe retreat, he would send a messenger to his family, and the watchword should be "Still-well." That during their wanderings, they had thus communicated with each other, and in their subsequent exile, had corresponded with their friends at home, under that signature ; and when they finally determined to abandon their retreat in Holland, and again place themselves within the jurisdiction of their own government, they had sought the shelter of this name, which they thenceforth assumed, and by which their descendants have since been known.

Tradition gives the original surname of these brothers as Cooke ; but this is not universally received in the family, the Staten Island branch, known as the "Royal Family," claiming that it was Stuart, and that these brothers were of royal blood. But their mother was of the family of Still, of Grant-ham, in Lincolnshire, which first attained prominence in the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when John Still was preferred to the See of Bath and Wells. The family then removed to the city of

Wells, where the Bishop died in 1607, and was buried in the cathedral of that city. They were also allied to the Hoptons, of Wytham, in Somersetshire, a noble family originally from Normandy, who came over with the Conqueror, and settled at Hopton, in Shropshire; but, upon the suppression of religious houses, they received a grant of the priory at Wytham, built by Henry the Third as a nunnery, when they established a seat there, which has ever since been known as Hopton Priory.

It is not improbable that the name originally assumed by the three brothers, was that of their mother's family, Still—to which, in foreign parts, the name of their residence would naturally attach—as Still of Wells, which might easily be corrupted into Still O' Wells—Still-well.

Or, the name may have been suggested by the epigrams and equivocations said to have been perpetrated upon John Still by his contemporaries, which are referred to by the writers of his time. His friend, Sir John Harrington, speaking of them in his "*Nugae Antiquae*," says, "About twenty years ago, when the great dyet or meeting should have bene in Germanie, for composing matters in religion, Dr. Still was chosen for Cambridge, and Dr. Humphreys for Oxford, to oppose all comers for defence of the English church. For this, his knowne sufficiencie, he was not long unfurnish't of double honour" (two benefices). "The Puritans in Cambridge woed him, and would fayne have wonne him to their part; and

seing they could not, they forbore not in the pulpit, after their fashion, to glaunce at him with their equivocations and epigrams." One of them said in a sermon, "that some could not be contented with two livings, one worth one hundred pounds a yeare, and another worth six score, but *Still-will* have more." But however they snarled, Queen Elizabeth counted this *Still, well* worthy of more, for in the thirty-fourth year of her reign, 1592, she promoted him to the See of Bath and Wells, which had lain vacant for three years.

Soon after entering upon his new dignity, it is said, that in searching upon his lands for springs, for which the neighborhood is famous, valuable lead mines were discovered; and at the solicitation of his relative, Sir Arthur Hopton, a Knight of the Bath, it is said he was induced to contribute sufficient of their product, to restore the leaden roof to the Cathedral; when the latter truly, as well as wittily, remarked, that "*Still's well*, though dry, had *still well-ed* a greater stream than any of the famous springs of Bath or Wells; for it was the only one that had ever covered the roof of the Cathedral."

We learn from the traditions of the family that in the early part of the 17th century, these three brothers, under this assumed name of Stillwell, escaped from the persecutions of the Star Chamber or High Commission Court, by flight. That they first found refuge in Holland, and subsequently emigrated to

America, landing at, or near, New Haven, where they separated.

That Jasper, one of the brothers, who had been educated for the Church, there joined the company of the Rev. Henry Whitfield, and settled at Guilford, Connecticut; and that the other two brothers removed to Manhattan Island, then under the dominion of the Dutch.

That one of the latter, John, who had been bred to the law, returned to England, upon the breaking out of the revolution in 1641, where he became Solicitor General, and officiated as such upon the trial of Charles the First. That he subsequently became Chief Justice, and upon the restoration of Charles the Second, was tried for treason, and executed among the regicides.

That Nicholas, the third brother, who had adopted the profession of arms, had in his youth offered his services to Elizabeth, the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, in support of the protestant cause, represented by her husband, Frederick V., the Elector Palatine. That upon the defeat of the latter at the battle of Prague, Nicholas, with his relative Ralph Hopton, and a number of other young English gentlemen, chivalrously volunteered to escort the Queen and her ladies in their flight to Breslau. That the royal party were pursued, and being likely to be overtaken, from the bad state of the roads, were compelled to abandon their carriages and share the horses of their escort; when the Queen placed herself on horseback

behind Ralph Hopton, while one of her Maids of Honor, Abigail Hopton, a sister of Ralph, mounted behind Nicholas and thus escaped.

That subsequently, and after the cause of the unfortunate Queen had been lost, and her court which she had been permitted to maintain in the low countries broken up, Nicholas married this lady whom he had so gallantly rescued, and had by her two sons, whom he brought with him to this country, shortly after the treaty of Prague in 1635, when the Protestant armies were disbanded.

That soon after his arrival in New Netherlands Nicholas, being a widower, married and located himself permanently upon Manhattan Island, where he was one of the first English settlers. That he was a man of great strength, and distinguished himself in the wars against the Indians, first under the Dutch and afterward in Virginia, where he was said to have brought the war to an end, by capturing the Indian King, and carrying him off bodily upon his shoulders.

That upon the surrender of New Netherlands to the English, after the restoration of Charles the Second, Nicholas, in consequence of some suspected complicity with his brother John, was obliged to conceal himself upon Staten Island, where he died.

While the traditions of a family, whose members have frequently reached the age of four-score years and ten, might well be relied upon, as to events

which have occurred within two hundred and fifty years, we are not dependent upon that source alone, nor even upon private records, for any material facts in the early history of the family : for each of these three brothers filled sufficient space in the world's history to enable us, even at this distance of time, to verify the traditions of the family, and to trace the course of their lives and their deaths, by the historical records which have come down to our times.

See MS. Correspondence of Lydia Watkins with President Stiles—
Yale College Library.

Stiles' Judges, p. 354.

Miss Benger's Memoirs of Queen of Bohemia.

Jane Porter's Duke Christian of Luneberg.

CHAPTER II.

1638.

RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES OF THE THREE BROTHERS—EMIGRATE TO NEW HAVEN IN SEARCH OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY—DISAPPOINTMENTS—THEY SEPARATE—JASPER SETTLES AT GUILFORD, CONN., AND DIES THERE—JOHN AND NICHOLAS REMOVE TO NEW NETHERLANDS, UNDER THE DUTCH.

Two of the brothers, John and Jasper, had been friends and followers of the Rev. Henry Whitfield, in London, a portion of whose congregation, driven out of England by the tyranny of Archbishop Laud, had found an asylum among their friends who had then lately planted the Colony of New Haven; and when their pastor soon after followed them, the three brothers determined to leave Holland, and join their former neighbors in exile.

During their residence in the low countries, John had become convinced that infant baptism was not an ordinance of God, and had adopted the tenets of the Anabaptists; while Nicholas had imbibed the doctrines of the Antinomians—the principal of which was, that the laws promulgated under the Mosaic dispensation, including the ten commandments, were enacted especially for the Jews, and were not obligatory upon Christians, except so far as they had been affirmed and taught by Christ and his Apostles, in the New Testament; they therefore refused to recognize the obligation of the Jewish Sabbath, or the authority of any priesthood.

But among the bright anticipations which had lured the three brothers to these shores, had been the prospect of being permitted, in these remote regions, to follow their own ideas in religious matters without disturbance, and of being governed by laws, in the framing of which they would have a voice. For this they were willing to sacrifice the comforts and enjoyments of civilized life, and to brave all the dangers and hardships of a new settlement in the wilderness; but their anticipations in this respect were sadly disappointed; they found, upon their arrival here, that those whom they had followed to these shores had not come hither to establish civil or religious liberty, but to enjoy unmolested the peculiarities of their own faith.

Under the influence of the wild delusion which prevailed among the enthusiasts of that age, that the Scriptures contained a complete system, not only of spiritual instruction, but of civil law and polity, those who first sought refuge here, had determined to be governed by its provisions, not only in matters of religion, but also in civil affairs.

From a resemblance which they fancied to exist between the circumstances of their emigration to this country, and the exodus of the children of Israel from the land of bondage, the first settlers imagined that the laws which had been promulgated for the government of that people, were particularly adapted to their own condition; and they had therefore framed a civil government founded upon the

laws of Moses. But, forgetting that the same causes which had driven them into exile were still in operation, and were daily driving others of their countrymen to seek the same asylum, and that these latter had the same rights with themselves to enjoy religious liberty, and the right of self-government—in the intolerant spirit of the times, the first settlers resolved to force a conformity to their views, on the part of all new-comers; and for that purpose they adopted the same unhallowed measures, the use of which against themselves, had driven them from their homes.

Going even beyond the extremes of those civil and ecclesiastical rulers, from whose tyranny they had sought a refuge in this wilderness, they rigidly excluded, not only from church communion, but also from all the rights and privileges of citizenship, all those who differed from them, either in matters of doctrine, the discipline of the church, or the rites of worship.

By their fundamental laws, none but freemen could be admitted to any share or voice in the government, or be eligible to any office, or even serve upon a jury; and as no one could become a freeman, except by being received into a church as a member, and no one could be admitted into the church but by the ministers and elders of the congregation, the most valued of civil rights were made to depend upon the decision of churchmen in respect to matters purely ecclesiastical. And as these latter pro-

ceeded, not by any established rules, but exercised a discretionary judgment in all cases, it was not long before the clergy acquired and exercised despotic power, not only in the church, but in the State.

The ideas prevalent, in that day, of the liberty that should be permitted, have come down to us in the sermons of their leading divines.

“The Gospel of Christ,” says the venerable Higginson, of Salem, “hath a right paramount to all other rights in the world. It hath a Divine and Supreme right to be received in every nation, and the knee of the magistrate is to bow at the name of Jesus. This right carries with it liberty, for all such as possess the Gospel, to walk according to the faith and order of the Gospel. That which is contrary to the Gospel hath no right, and should therefore have no liberty.”

In the exercise of their recognized prerogative, the clergy first determined what was agreeable or contrary to the Gospel, and their followers then passed laws accordingly, not only defining the opinions upon ecclesiastical matters which might lawfully be held or expressed, but also regulating the conduct of the settlers in all the relations and affairs of life.

By these laws, which were executed with a rigor, in comparison with which, the persecutions which had driven them out of their own country, were mild and indulgent, the penalty of banishment, and of death in case of return, was denounced against any

one who did not conform to the established mode of keeping the Sabbath, who denied the validity of infant baptism, or the authority of the civil magistrate to use coercive measures in matters of religion.

With the religious views which John and Nicholas Stilwell entertained, the church of New Haven would not permit them to remain within its jurisdiction, and they found themselves again exiles, driven farther into the wilderness, to seek an asylum from the intolerance of their own exiled countrymen.

Shaking the dust from their feet, they again took up their pilgrims' staves, and turned their faces toward Manhattan Island, where, under the protection of the Dutch Government, they hoped again to find that freedom which they had so vainly sought among the people of their own race.

Jasper Stilwell still adhered to the teachings of the Rev. Henry Whitfield, and, joining his congregation, was one of the little flock which that pastor led forth into the wilderness, in the winter of 1639-40, and which settled at Menunketuck, a location which the Company purchased from the Indians, and named Guilford, in commemoration of the place in Surry in England, from which many of the settlers had emigrated.

Here Jasper ended his wanderings, and died in November, 1656, leaving only the record of his name as one of the founders of the church, and first settlers of the town.

Two daughters survived him. Rebecca, who, on

the 23d of March, 1644, was married at the Dutch Church in New Amsterdam to James Graves, of Hartford; and Elizabeth, who on the 26th of November, 1657, married John Graves, a son of George Graves, one of the original settlers and proprietors of Hartford.

Jasper Stilwell having left no male issue, the name became extinct in that branch of the family.

Trumbull's Connecticut.
Robertson's America.
Hutchinson's Massachusetts.
Winthrop's Journal.
Ruggles' MS. History of Guilford.
Records Dutch Church, New Amsterdam.
Savage's Genealogical Dictionary of New England

CHAPTER III.

1639-48.

ARRIVAL IN NEW NETHERLANDS—JOHN SETTLES ON STATEN ISLAND,
AT DOVER—DRIVEN AWAY BY INDIAN HOSTILITIES—FINDS RE-
FUGE IN FORT AMSTERDAM—RETURNS TO ENGLAND—RESUMES
ORIGINAL NAME—APPOINTED SOLICITOR GENERAL—OFFICIATES
AT THE TRIAL OF CHARLES FIRST—APPOINTED CHIEF JUSTICE—
ARRESTED FOR TREASON.

Upon their arrival in New Netherlands, John selected for his future home a beautiful spot upon the eastern shore of Staten Island, immediately below the Narrows, to which he gave the name of Dover—the commanding heights overlooking it, now surmounted by Fort Tompkins, probably reminding him of the last glimpse he had had of his native land, when fleeing from his persecutors over the narrow sea which separated his home from liberty, he had seen the coast of England gradually sink beneath the waves, until the towering heights of Dover Cliffs, were all that remained visible, to remind him of the country he had left.

This tract of land, which was subsequently granted by the government to his grandson, John Stilwell, in consideration of the improvements originally made thereon by his ancestors,* was the site of the fortified town of Dover, subsequently built and occupied by Nicholas and his children, and which was

* Petition and grant—Secretary of State's Office, Albany.

for many years the most important and populous settlement upon Staten Island; but, upon the extinction or removal of its savage neighbors, its palisades fell into disuse, and were converted to more peaceful purposes; and the place has passed into such utter oblivion, that its mention here is, probably, the first reference to its existence, which has been made for upward of a hundred and fifty years. It is, however, frequently referred to in the old records of the courts, still preserved in Kings County Clerk's office, and in the Surrogate's office, New York. The only memento of it now remaining upon the Island, is the road which led to it, and which still bears the name of the "Old Town Road." Portions of this tract have ever since been, and still are, in possession of the descendants of John and Nicholas Stilwell.

John had hardly settled himself upon his Staten Island plantation, when he was driven away by the hostilities provoked by the injudicious attempt of Kieft, the Director General of New Netherlands, to levy contributions of beaver and wampum from the neighboring savages, in return for the protection which, he claimed, was afforded them against their enemies, by Fort Amsterdam, and the troops maintained there by the Dutch.

John sought refuge in the fort upon Manhattan Island; but Kieft, soon afterward, in retaliation for some murders committed upon Staten Island, having incited a general Indian war, by an appeal to the

cupidity of the friendly tribes, offering them a reward of ten fathoms of wampum for the head of every Raritan Indian killed—John, who had been bred to peaceful pursuits, resolved to abandon the colony and return to Holland at the first opportunity.

While affairs were in this unpromising condition in New Netherlands, news reached him from England of the fall of Archbishop Laud; and that a revolution was imminent there, which would probably bring his friends into power; and learning that Hugh Peters, and others who had been his fellow exiles in Holland, were about to return to England, John determined to accompany them.

Nicholas, however, had brought with him to this country his two young sons, Richard and Nicholas, and having married into one of the Dutch families, and located himself upon Manhattan Island, as a tobacco planter, he concluded to remain.

The changes which had taken place in England during John's absence, rendered concealment on his part no longer necessary, and upon his return, he resumed his original name of Cooke; but the disturbed condition of affairs there, not being congenial to his tastes, he soon retired again to the continent, where he spent several years in visiting the principal capitals of Europe.

Ludlow, in his "Memoirs," tells us that "while in Rome, John Cooke spoke with such liberty and ability against the corruptions of the court and church,

that great endeavors were used to bring him into that interest; but he, being resolved not to yield to their solicitations, thought it no longer safe to continue among them, and therefore departed for Geneva, where he resided some time in the house of Signor Gio. Deodati, the Minister of the Italian Church in that city, and the learned friend of Milton."

Upon his return to England he was admitted to Gray's Inn, and being called to the Bar, soon acquired considerable reputation in his profession as a barrister. Through his intimacy with Oliver Cromwell, who had also been a follower of Henry Whitfield, and his association with John Bradshaw at Gray's Inn, he was drawn into the political controversies of the time, and becoming identified with the popular party, took an active part in the contest then culminating between the King and Parliament. And when the usurpations of Charles the First and his prelates had driven the nation into civil war, and there seemed no middle ground of accommodation between the surrender of the liberties of the people of England and the overthrow of the King, John Cooke was one of that glorious band of patriots who stood forth as the champions of civil and religious liberty, and dared to arraign their King as a traitor.

In the act creating the "High Court of Justice" for the trial of this august criminal, the twelve Judges of England were originally named as members of the Court; but they declined to act, affirming that it was contrary to all the ideas of English law, to try the

King for treason,—in whose name, and by whose authority alone, all prosecutions for treason must necessarily be conducted. It was in answer to this objection that the great principle was first promulgated in an authoritative form, that **THE PEOPLE ARE, UNDER GOD, THE ORIGINAL OF ALL JUST POWER**; and that the Commons, in Parliament assembled, being chosen by, and representing the people, have the supreme power in the nation. And it was therefore ordered that the prosecution against the King should be conducted in the name and on behalf of **THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND**.

The Court was then re-organized, and John Bradshaw having been chosen to preside at the trial, John Cooke was offered and accepted the perilous position of Solicitor General to conduct the prosecution.

The annals of the human race may be searched in vain for a more sublime spectacle than was then presented, of the delegates of a great people sitting in solemn judgment upon their Supreme Magistrate, and trying him for his misgovernment and breach of trust.

With a pomp, dignity and ceremony corresponding to the grandeur of the transaction, the Commons of England, representing the majesty of the people, arraigned their King, and in the person of their Solicitor General, charged that he, "Charles Stuart, being admitted King of England, and entrusted with a limited power, yet nevertheless, with a wicked

design to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, had traitorously and maliciously levied war against the Parliament and the people whom they represented," and thereupon "the said John Cooke did, for the said treason and crimes, on behalf of the people of England, impeach the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth of England," and prayed "that the said Charles Stuart, King of England, might be put to answer all and every one of the premises, and that such proceedings, trial and judgment might thereafter be had, as should be agreeable to justice."

The prisoner denied the authority of the Court, claiming that he was their hereditary King, and derived his dignity neither from Parliament nor the people, but from the Supreme Majesty of Heaven; and refused to submit to their jurisdiction by answering the charges.

Three several times he was brought before the Court and required to answer. Still declining to do so, it was ordered that witnesses be called and examined as to the charges; and it was only after a number of witnesses had proved that the King had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by the Parliament, that judgment was rendered against him, upon which sentence of death was pronounced; and upon the 30th day of January, 1649, Charles the First expiated upon the scaffold, his crimes against the people of England.

As a reward for his services in their cause, the Parliament voted John Cooke the thanks of the nation, and three hundred pounds per annum in the County of Wexford, Ireland, and also commissioned him Chief Justice there. Soon afterward, in consideration of his losses in the late troubles, Parliament made him a further grant of the lands of St. Cross Hospital, near Winchester, then worth a thousand pounds a year.

The history of his career as Chief Justice may be read in the records of his Court; and even the malignant writers of the restoration, failed to find any ground for impeaching his character as a Judge, or for questioning his integrity or his learning. He continued to act in his judicial capacity until the restoration of Charles the Second, when he was arrested for his participation in the trial of the late King, and sent prisoner to England, to be tried with the other regicides for treason.

The chroniclers of the time of Charles the Second, speaking of Chief Justice Cooke, declare, "That neither the height of his preferment, nor the change of his country, could deliver him from the lashes of a troubled conscience. Though he was a Judge, he could not absolve himself, but upon the very bench would fall into strange sighs and groans, and break out into this lamentation—'Oh! poor Charles! poor Charles!' showing thereby how much he was oppressed with the guilt of innocent blood."

But so far from having any compunction for the

part he had acted upon the trial of the King, he shortly afterward wrote and published a book, entitled, "Monarchy, no creature of God's making—in which it is proved that the execution of the late King was one of the fattest sacrifices that Queen Justice ever had."

But the utter groundlessness of these aspersions may best be learned from the record of his conduct upon his own trial, his bearing in prison, and his speech delivered in the immediate presence of death upon the scaffold.

During his imprisonment, before his trial, he wrote many letters, which have come down to our times in the history of the regicides, leaving no room for doubt that he gloried in the act for which he was called upon to suffer, and willingly offered up his life as a sacrifice upon the altar of civil and religious liberty.

Ludlow's *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 69, &c.
Brodie's *British Empire*, IV, p. 190, &c.
Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, 1648.
Granger's *Biographical History of England*, V, 127.
History of King-Killers, London, 1719.

CHAPTER IV.

1660.

JOHN TRIED FOR TREASON—CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED—LAST
SPEECH AND PRAYER ON SCAFFOLD—LETTER TO HIS DAUGHTER
FROM NEWGATE—SHE EMIGRATES TO AMERICA—MARRIES HER
COUSIN, JUDGE RICHARD STILWELL, AND DIES ON STATEN ISLAND.

After a confinement of four months in the Tower of London, John Cooke was brought to trial at the Old Bailey, on the 14th of October, 1660, when he defended himself upon the ground that he had acted throughout as a barrister, exercising his profession on behalf of his clients, the people of England, by order of the Parliament, which was at the time the only *de facto* authority. That he had acted conscientiously and according to the best of his judgment.

He was, however, found guilty, and sentenced to death, and two days afterward was drawn upon a hurdle from Newgate to Charing Cross, the place appointed for the execution. In order to intimidate him, and disturb his thoughts, the bloody head of his cousin, Major General Harrison, who had been executed the day before, was fixed upon the front of the hurdle, with the naked face toward him. But notwithstanding this dismal sight, we are told that he "passed through the streets rejoicingly, as one borne up by that spirit which men cannot cast down."

He ascended the scaffold cheerfully, and after a few moments spent in prayer, and saying a few words of encouragement to Hugh Peters, who was with him in the inclosure, and was to be executed immediately after him, he addressed the sheriff and spectators as calmly as if before a jury.

“Mr. Sheriff and gentlemen,” said he, “the most glorious sight that was ever seen in the world, was our Lord Jesus Christ upon the cross; and the most glorious sight next to that, is to see any poor creature suffer for Him in His cause. I desire to speak a few words, briefly, to let you know what a glorious work the Lord has been pleased to accomplish upon my spirit. I bless the Lord that I have ransacked into every corner of my heart, and have searched into all my sins, so far as the Lord hath discovered them to me, and I have confessed them all with a penitential and bleeding heart and a contrite spirit. Blessed be His name, He hath been pleased to come in an abundant manner, and show me that the only remedy is the blood of Christ, and I have applied that precious blood to my poor soul, and have laid hold upon Christ, and there is a sweet calm and serenity in my soul and conscience. Blessed be His name, I desire to glorify God and to give Him the glory of all, and to take shame upon myself for any sins I have committed, that I know to be sins. I do not expect salvation for any thing I have ever done, but only lay hold upon Christ, and there bottom my faith. * * * *

"I can truly say, that I have always endeavored in my place, and to my power, to do that which might be to God's glory, to the best of my understanding. I have stood up for a gospel magistracy and ministry, and that the delays in the law might be removed, and justice speedily and cheaply administered, and for liberty of conscience, that all might walk humbly but boldly before the Lord.

"As to that I have been charged with, I do confess, I am not convinced that I have done amiss, and I desire never to repent of anything I have done therein, and I am here to bear witness to my faith—"

The sheriff here interrupting him with some offensive expression, Mr. Cooke replied: "It hath not hitherto been the manner of Englishmen to insult a dying man, nor in other countries, not even among the Turks. If there be any here of that congregation to which I was related, in the time that I lived here, I would commend to them that Scripture, Phil., 2 chap., 17th and 18th verses.

"I bless the Lord that I have nothing on my conscience. I have endeavored to do nothing but with a good conscience—"

The sheriff again interrupting him, he said: "If you will believe the words of a dying man, I say, as I must soon render an account, I have nothing upon my conscience. I have a poor wife and child and some friends left. I desire you, that came along

with me, to commend to them Isaiah, 54th chapter, 5th and 10th verses.

"The Lord knows I have no malice against any man or woman living, neither against the jury that found me guilty, nor the court that passed sentence upon me. I freely forgive them all, from the bottom of my heart. I shall speak a few words to the Lord in prayer, and shall not trouble you further."

He then prayed aloud as follows :

"Most Glorious Majesty ! I beseech Thee to warm my heart, and fill it so full of the love of Jesus Christ, it may never be cool any more. Oh, that the Lord would now appear graciously to show Himself, a wonder-working God, in bearing up the heart and spirit of His poor creature. It is no matter how bitter the cup is, if the Lord gives strength to drink it. It is no matter how heavy the burthen is, for the Lord will lay no more upon his poor children than they are able to bear. The Lord give strength to all that are yet to suffer in this cause. If any did pursue power or interest, and did not look after the good of God's poor people, or the good of the nation, the Lord forgive them. The Lord knows the simplicity of the hearts of his poor servants; help them to continue faithful unto death, so that we may receive a crown of life, for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ.

"Lord hear me for my poor wife and child. Unto thee I commend them—and so I come, Lord Jesus.

Oh, receive my soul! Into thy hands I commit my spirit. Blessed be thy name, methinks I see, with Stephen, even by the eye of faith, Heaven open, and the Lord Jesus ready to receive my soul! Oh, that I might with Ezekiel see the glory of God, and with Isaiah see the Lord sitting on the throne of his glory; and oh, that the love of the Father, Son and Spirit may warm my heart, and carry me up from the begining of this passage, to the end and close of it.

“Lord, let it be well with England. When Elijah was taken away, his spirit rested on Elisha, who stood up in his stead; and when John the Baptist was cut off, the Lord had his apostles to supply that office. The Lord will have profit in the death of his children. As for those that brought me hither, Lord forgive them; may the blessing of the Father, Son and Spirit be with them—and oh, that no more might suffer.

“And so, dear and blessed Father, I come to the bosom of thy love, and desire to enter into thy glory, which is endless and boundless through Jesus Christ.”

When he had finished his prayer, the executioner did his office; his body was quartered—his head set upon a pike in front of Westminster Hall, and the fragments of his body upon the gates of the city of London; and as far as the partisan writers of that day could do it, his memory was consigned to everlasting infamy—as one of the “murderers of

his most sacred Majesty, King Charles the First, of glorious memory."

But time, which at last sets all things even, has done justice to the memory of these patriots; and now, after two hundred years, when the deliberate judgment of mankind has superseded the passions and prejudices of the time, Oliver Cromwell, whose bones were then dragged from their coffin to be hanged, and whose head was also placed upon a pike in front of Westminster Hall, as one of the murderers of Charles the First, now occupies an equal niche with that monarch, among the sovereigns of England, whom posterity is proud to honor.

And the descendants of John Cooke, whose attainted blood could not transmit his estates to his children, still cherish that priceless legacy, which neither King nor Parliament could sequester—HIS GLORIOUS MEMORY. And among the choicest heir-looms of the family, is that letter which he wrote to his little daughter from Newgate prison, a few hours before his execution, when, looking through the clouds which then surrounded him, into the clear sky of the future, he wrote:

" My Dear, Sweet Child :

"So soon as God gives thee any understanding, know that thou art the child of one whom God counted worthy to suffer for his sake, and to seal to the truth of his law and gospel with his blood;

which will be a great honor to thee, in the judgment of all that truly love and fear God.

“Know that thy dear father has gone to Heaven to thy dear brother, and be sure so to live that by God’s grace thou may’st follow after. I leave thee to the Lord, who I know will take care of thee and be thy portion, so thou shalt never want. So I leave God’s blessing with thee, and rest

“Thy dear and loving father,

“JOHN COOKE.”

Nor was the faith of this good man vain; for when the death of her remaining parent left this child a friendless orphan, surrounded by those who counted her an outcast—the daughter of a felon—He who had sustained her father in his last agony, did not leave his daughter to despair, but guided her steps, and protected her, until, in this Western World, she also found a refuge, and became the wife of her cousin, Richard Stilwell, one of the Justices of the West Riding of Yorkshire, in the province of New York.

And when, full of years, she went to her rest, and her remains were placed beside those of her honored husband, in the beautiful cemetery upon Staten Island, where they now repose, she was followed to the grave by a numerous progeny, whose chief pride and boast it was—as it still is of their descendants—that in their veins runs the attainted blood of that martyr of liberty, JOHN COOKE.

John Cooke left no male issue, and his only daughter, Freelope, having intermarried with Richard, a descendant of Nicholas, the line of John merged into that of his brother Nicholas, whose career we now propose to follow.

Trial of XXIX Regicides, London, 1660.

LIFE AND TIMES OF NICHOLAS STILWELL.

CHAPTER V.

1639.

MANHATTAN ISLAND IN 1626—PURCHASED FOR TWENTY-FOUR DOLLARS—RESERVED FOR THE USE OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY—GOVERNOR KIEFT ARRIVES IN 1638, AND FOREIGNERS PERMITTED TO SETTLE IN NEW NETHERLANDS—NICHOLAS STILWELL ONE OF THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLERS ON MANHATTAN ISLAND—TOBACCO PLANTERS AT "HOPTON," ON TURTLE BAY, IN 1639—LAW SUIT WITH HIS NEIGHBORS, GEORGE HOLMES AND THOMAS HALL—HOW THE COMPANY'S BOWERIES ON MANHATTAN ISLAND WERE APPROPRIATED—JAN JANSEN SCHEPMORE.

Even those who have witnessed the unparalleled rapidity of the growth of the City of New York during the last fifty years, can hardly realize that it is but two centuries and a half since Manhattan Island was a primitive wilderness, inhabited only by the aboriginal savages. But when, in 1609, Henry Hudson, in the yacht "Half-Moon," of Amsterdam, searching for a North-west Passage to China, entered the Bay of New York, and came to anchor at the mouth of the noble river which now bears his name, it is believed that the eye of civilized man first rested upon its virgin wilds, "as pleasant

with grasse and flowers and goodlie trees, as ever was seen."

The magnificent forests which then fringed the shores of the Island, and were the admiration of Henry Hudson and his companions, may still be seen; but now shorn of their leaves and branches, and transformed into the masts of huge admirals, which have supplanted the canoes, fashioned from hollow trees, which then thronged the Bay, as the followers of these hardy adventurers have supplanted the savage inhabitants which flocked around them upon their arrival.

The rocky ledges which then traversed the Island still remain, but now transformed into long lines of warehouses for trade, or fashioned into palaces, the abode of luxury and refinement; or hewn into comely shapes, and piled in towering spires, they stand as perpetual monitors, pointing man to his hereditary skies.

Amsterdam, whose merchants were then sending their fleets to explore these unknown seas, was as rich and populous a city as it is to-day, when one of her trading companies, in 1626, purchased for sixty Holland guilders, equal to twenty-four dollars, the whole of Manhattan Island, the site of a city beside which Amsterdam is now but a pigmy.

The only permanent structure then existing upon the Island, was the counting house of the Dutch West India Company, a stone building thatched with reeds, around which were clustered some thirty

huts, constructed chiefly of the bark of trees, in which a handful of Hollanders, comprising the entire population of the place, found shelter, until the fort, then staked out by the Engineer of the Company, could be built; when it was intended that all the settlers should betake themselves within its walls, so as to be secure against any sudden attack of the savages.

When, twelve years later, in March, 1638, William Kieft succeeded Wouter Von Twiller as Director-General of New Netherlands, New Amsterdam, the germ from which has sprung the city of New York, was still but a trading post of the Dutch West India Company, a corporation which, by its charter, granted by the States General of Holland in 1621, had the exclusive right to trade in these parts for twenty-four years, to plant colonies, make and administer the necessary laws for the government thereof, and, for the protection of its commerce, to erect forts and maintain fleets.

The company having originally determined to reserve the whole of Manhattan Island for its own use as a trading mart, had as yet made no grants of land thereon to settlers, although mechanics and traders had been permitted to build and occupy houses in the vicinity of the fort. And upon the arrival of Kieft in 1638, the settlement still consisted only of Fort Amsterdam, finished in 1635, which covered the square now bounded by Bowling Green, State street, Whitehall, and Bridge street, and the few thatched dwellings around it, which had

been erected by the traders or servants of the Company.

Six boweries or farms had, however, been laid out upon the Island by the Company for its own use. Two of these were upon the North River, comprising the lands afterward known as the King's farm, now in possession of Trinity church, and the Dominies' Bowerie, as it was afterward called, extending from the vicinity of the fort, north, to the swamp subsequently known as Lisenard's Meadows. This latter tract is the one in which the heirs of Anneka Jans still claim to have an interest.

The other four boweries were on the East River, extending along the river side, from the stream which formed the outlet to the Kolk or fresh water, about Roosevelt street, to the vicinity of Hell Gate.

These six farms or boweries had been cultivated by the officers or servants of the Company, and from them, and the Company's stores, the traders and settlers around the fort had been supplied at fixed prices, with whatever goods or provisions they required; but during the latter years of the administration of Wouter Von Twiller, they had been suffered to run to waste; and upon the arrival of his successor, five of the six boweries of the Company were without tenants and were open in common.

The population of the Island, consisting chiefly, if not entirely, of persons who had come here only for the purpose of trade, and who intended, as soon as they had made money enough, to return, and

enjoy their "*lust in rust*" in the fatherland, little, if any attention had been paid to permanent improvements of any kind upon the lands occupied by them.

But a few months after the arrival of Kieft, the attention of the home government having been called to the unsatisfactory condition of the Colony, as compared with the neighboring English settlements, which, with much less natural advantages, but with free trade, had outstripped it in wealth and population—the Directors of the West India Company deemed it prudent to surrender some of the exclusive privileges it had hitherto enjoyed—the most important of which was that of trading with the Indians for furs—and by a proclamation issued in September, 1638, New Netherlands was thrown open for free trade, as well as for colonization, to all the inhabitants of the United Provinces, and to all other friendly nations, under certain general regulations, imposts and restrictions.

As an inducement to colonists to bring their families with them, and make permanent settlements, every emigrant was freely offered by this proclamation as much land as he or his family could properly cultivate; the Company reserving only a quit rent of one-tenth, to commence after four years' cultivation or pasture of the land, which exemption was soon afterward extended to ten years.

The adoption of this liberal policy on the part of the West India Company, marked a new era in the history of the Province. Large accessions to its

population and wealth immediately followed. Settlers as well as traders were attracted thither from the mother country, as well as from the neighboring colonies, who built houses, laid out plantations, and spread themselves far and wide, seeking the best land and most favorable locations for trade; and the colony entered at once upon a career of prosperity.

Nicholas Stilwell was one of the first of the English nation to avail himself of the privilege extended to foreigners by the proclamation of September, 1638, to settle in New Netherlands.

As early as 1639 he is found located as a tobacco planter upon Manhattan Island, in the vicinity of Turtle Bay, at a place called "Hopton," a name which he had probably given it from some fancied resemblance of the locality to the site of Hopton Priory, in England, with which many pleasant memories of his early life were associated.

The earliest record evidence, corroborating the tradition of the family that he was one of the first English settlers upon Manhattan Island, is found in the Council Minutes, still preserved at Albany among the manuscript archives of the Dutch dominion, from which it appears that on the 24th day of November, 1639, Nicholas, the tobacco planter of Hopton, was summoned before the Director and Council to answer to one Laurens Haen, for the value of a canoe which the latter had lent him, and which had been lost; and on the same day Nicholas, the

tobacco planter, had cited his neighbors, Thomas Hall and George Holmes, before the Director and Council, to answer to him for an anker of brandy, belonging to him, and which they had appropriated.

Thomas Hall and George Holmes, who appear thus early upon the records of New Amsterdam, were two Englishmen, who with a party of twelve or thirteen others, had been sent out from Point Comfort, in Virginia, in 1635, by Gov. West, of that colony, to seize the Dutch Fort Nassau, upon the South river. The expedition had been betrayed by Hall and captured; and Holmes and the other English engaged therein had been taken as prisoners to Manhattan Island, but were soon afterward released, and returned to Virginia. Hall, however, had remained in New Netherlands, and seeing that the virgin soil was well adapted to the culture of tobacco, with the raising and curing of which he had become familiar in Virginia, had induced Wouter Von Twiller, then the Director General, to lay out a tract of land upon Long Island, belonging to the latter, as a tobacco plantation, and to engage him to take charge of it.

Finding the business very profitable, and that Von Twiller was disposed to extend it, Hall, by way of atonement for his former treachery to George Holmes, had induced the Director General to lay out one of the Company's boweries upon Manhattan Island as a tobacco plantation, and to allow him and George Holmes to cultivate it on shares; but before

the arrangement had been carried into effect, Wouter Von Twiller was superseded in his office by William Kieft, the new Director General, who arrived in New Netherlands on the 28th of March, 1638.

A good understanding appears to have been at once established between Wouter Von Twiller and his successor, for Kieft had not been in the colony thirty days before he leased to Von Twiller the two best boweries of the Company upon Manhattan Island, for three years, at the rent of 250 guilders a year, and one-sixth of the produce of the land.

Upon one of these farms, on the North River, all the cattle and other movable property which had disappeared from the other boweries of the Company in Von Twiller's time, appear to have strayed, and were now claimed by Von Twiller as his private property, which claim was not seriously disputed by Kieft. But Von Twiller's good fortune did not stop there, for he had hardly taken possession under his lease, when Kieft, by an order in Council promulgated on the 24th of June, 1638, graciously released him from the payment of any rent for ten years, by granting to all freemen the right to patents for the land they were occupying and cultivating, on condition of their agreeing to pay, after the ten years, one-tenth of the product as rent, and also a couple of capons yearly for a house and garden.

Von Twiller having thus acquired a plantation, improved and stocked at the expense of the Company, and free of rent for ten years, proceeded to

carry out his arrangement with George Holmes and Thomas Hall, by leasing the same to them as a tobacco plantation, taking their notes in advance for the rent, as well as for the stock furnished; one of which notes for 905 lbs. of tobacco payable out of the first crop raised on the land, appears to have been immediately transferred by Von Twiller to Kieft.

The other four boweries of the Company, upon the East River, seem to have fallen into the hands of other parties, upon equally easy terms. Jacobus Von Corlear, the Commissary who, like Von Twiller, in virtue of his relationship to one of the Directors of the Company, appears to have been recognized as a privileged person, took possession of and occupied a large tract of land on the East River, comprising what has ever since been known as Corlear's Hook, opposite the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

Andreas Hudde, another officer of the Company appropriated an adjoining plantation, containing 100 morgens, or 200 acres of land, and being the surveyor of the Company, he at once secured his title to it by a ground brief, or patent.

Barent Dirckson, a soldier, who had served in the Low Countries under Count Wallenstein, had possessed himself of another of the Company's boweries, and, in honor of that great Captain, who had then lately been assassinated, had named it "Wallenstein."

It was upon the upper bowery of the Company,

in the vicinity of Deutil or Turtle Bay, opposite the lower end of Blackwell's Island, that we find Nicholas Stilwell thus located at this early day.

Jan Jansen Schepmoes, a Hollander, who had kept a public house in the vicinity of the fort, had been complained of for "tapping" for sailors at unreasonable hours, and had been "recommended to turn his attention to agriculture." Acting upon this hint, he had taken possession of this abandoned bowery; but the raising of goats, which required no exertion, and for which the rocks around Deutil Bay were well adapted, and the gentle industry of fishing, appear to have been more congenial to his taste than the cultivation of the soil. He had therefore contented himself with these occupations, while Nicholas, under some arrangement with him, had entered into possession of that portion of the bowery adapted to agriculture, laid it out as a tobacco plantation, and given it the name of Hopton.

But a grant for these lands upon Manhattan Island, which had been reserved by the Company for its own use, was only to be obtained through the favor of the Director-General, and Nicholas had never been in the good graces of Kieft; for he had from the first disapproved of, and, as far as possible, opposed, the inhuman policy adopted by the latter in his intercourse with the Indians, which was based upon the idea that they were wild beasts, and should be exterminated. Nicholas believed and maintained that the savages were governed by the same influ-

ences as other men ; that they recognized their friends, and would injure only those whom they looked upon as their enemies ; and he had given evidence of his faith, by openly abandoning the protection of the Fort, and taking up his residence on the extreme outposts of the civilized settlements upon the Island, where his safety depended upon his maintaining friendly relations with his savage neighbors. It was not therefore until nearly two years afterward, in 1641, that circumstances enabled him to obtain, through other parties, a grant for the bowery upon which he had thus settled.

George Holmes and Thomas Hall were, however, more fortunate. On the 7th of September, 1639, a contract was entered into between them, "to begin a tobacco plantation near Hopton, on Deutil Bay, on the Island of Manhattan, and to build a dwelling and a tobacco house thereon, at their joint expense," with a proviso, however, that if "either of them should desire to return to England or Holland, or in case a disagreement should arise between them, the plantation should be appraised, and the one remaining should retain it at such valuation."

When the buildings were finished, on the 15th of November, 1639, a ground brief or patent was issued to them, "for a tobacco plantation on the East River, extending in breadth along the river from Deutil Bay, where the beach tree lays over the water, to the hill of Schepmoes, and in depth 100 rods into the woods."

This is the first recorded patent for land upon Manhattan Island issued to foreigners, and was doubtless procured by Holmes and Hall, through the influence of their patron, Wouter Von Twiller.

They had been but ten days proprietors of the land, when the differences between them and their neighbor Nicholas required the interposition of the Director and Council, as already referred to. Nor do they appear to have agreed any better among themselves, for, at the expiration of the first year, on the 6th of September, 1640, they separated—Hall selling his half of the dwelling house and plantation to Holmes; “except a boat, a gun, and a dog, which Thomas Hall reserves to himself, and nothing more.”

Hall, however, continued to reside in the vicinity, and several other English families from New England having also settled in the neighborhood, Hopton soon became known as the “English settlement” upon Manhattan Island. But all the settlers appear to have held their possessions only upon sufferance, for this patent to Holmes and Hall was the only one issued to foreigners for land upon the Island prior to 1641.

Dutch Historical MSS., Secretary of State's office, Albany.
O'Callaghan's New Netherlands.
Brodhead's History of New York.

CHAPTER VI.

1641.

**MURDER AT TURTLE BAY—SCHEPMOES FRIGHTENED—SEEKS SAFER
QUARTERS—SELLS OUT THE BOWERY TO GEORGE BAXTER AND
WALTER HARTFOOT ON CREDIT—THEY SECURE A PATENT FOR IT,
AND SELL IT TO NICHOLAS STILWELL FOR CASH—HE BUILDS THE
STONE HOUSE AT HOPTON, ON TURTLE BAY—LIFE THERE IN 1642—
RUMORS OF INDIAN UPRISING UNDER MIANTONOMAH—NICHOLAS
ORGANIZES A TROOP OF ENGLISH.**

In the summer of 1641, an old man named Claes Schmidt, a wheelwright, who had settled in the vicinity of Deutil Bay, was murdered, and his house plundered by a young Indian whose uncle had been killed by some Dutchmen, near the fresh water or Kolk, many years before, when the fort was building. The murderer had escaped to his tribe in what is now Westchester County, and some soldiers who had been sent from the fort to arrest him having returned unsuccessful, the Director had made a demand for his surrender upon the sachem of the tribe to which he belonged, and had threatened, in case of refusal, to destroy their whole village.

Jan Jansen Schepmoes, who still occupied, and raised goats upon a portion of the bowery upon which Nicholas had located, and who, as a freeman, under Kieft's proclamation of June 24, 1638, might perhaps have claimed a patent for the whole of it, fearing further trouble with the savages, determined

to remove and seek safer quarters at his former residence, near the fort in New Amsterdam.

Two Englishmen, named George Baxter and Walter Hartfoot, had lately arrived in the neighborhood from New England, and having their families with them, comprising five grown persons, they were, under the provisions of the new Charter of 1640, entitled to claim a patent for one hundred morges of land.

Knowing the anxiety of the Director at this juncture to retain all new settlers, and of Nicholas Stilwell to secure for himself a grant for the Company's bowery at Deutil Bay, upon which he was residing, Baxter and Hartfoot saw an eligible opportunity of obtaining a small capital upon which to commence business, by purchasing from Schepmoes, upon a long credit, his improvements and his possessory interest in the land, obtaining a patent for it, and selling the same to Nicholas for cash.

Under the circumstances, Baxter and Hartfoot had little difficulty in inducing Schepmoes to dispose of his interest in the premises upon credit; and on the 20th of August, 1641, the contract was signed by which they agreed to purchase it for "five hundred and twenty guilders, payable in tobacco or corn, at the price at which the Governor in New Netherlands will receive the same. One half to be paid in November, 1642, and the other half in November, 1643."

All attempts to secure the murderer of Claes Schmidt having proved ineffectual, the Director now

determined to avenge the crime upon the tribe to which he belonged, by destroying their whole village. But as this might involve the colony in another Indian war, and the reputation of Kieft was such as not to place him above the suspicion of desiring a war for his own profit, "in order that he might render false reckonings to the Company," he was anxious to secure the concurrence of the Commonalty at large in his designs.

With this view, all the heads of families upon Manhattan Island and its vicinity were summoned to meet at Fort Amsterdam on the 29th of August, 1641, when the Director submitted to them the questions whether this murder should not be avenged; and in case the Indians should persist in their refusal to surrender the criminal upon further requisition, whether it would not be just to destroy the whole village to which he belonged; and if so, when, how, and by whom should this be done?

At this meeting, the first popular assemblage ever convened on Manhattan Island, the Commonalty were invited to choose twelve men as their representatives, to consider the propositions submitted, and advise and act in their behalf in concert with the Director.

Although the English settlers, living in exposed situations, would be the first and severest sufferers in case hostilities should be determined upon, in the selection of the popular representatives, they were not consulted or represented, and the entire

twelve men were chosen from among the Hollanders.

After consultation, the twelve men determined that in the present condition of the Colony, it was not advisable to adopt any hostile measures against the savages; and recommended that kind intercourse and trade should be continued as usual, in order to throw the Indians off their guard until the hunting season, when many of the warriors would be absent on the chase; by which time, preparation could be completed to send out two expeditions from different points to surprise them and destroy their village; and, in the meantime, it was recommended that further friendly demands should be made for the surrender of the murderer.

Kieft had not called the people together for their advice, but only to obtain their endorsement of the proceedings which he had already determined upon; and when he found himself thus thwarted by the popular representatives in a measure upon which he had set his heart, he determined to conciliate and favor the English settlers, and thus enlist them, and perhaps others of that nation, in his support.

George Baxter, who understood the Dutch language, immediately availed himself of this favorable disposition of the Director to press his claims, and those of his partner, for a grant of the lands they had purchased from Schepmoes, and with such effect that, on the same day, a ground brief or patent was issued, granting to George Baxter and Walter

Hartfoot, "the plantation or bowerie belonging to the Company, formerly occupied by Jan Jansen Schepmoes, situated upon Manhattan Island, upon the East River, extending along the river between two creeks, to wit: that where they cross the water over the stones, and that where the beech tree lays over the water, where George Holmes is next adjoining, and with that width according to said creeks, running back into the woods."

This patent was immediately transferred by Baxter and Hartfoot to Nicholas Stilwell, who thus at last found a home which he could call his own.

This bowerie, or farm, extended from a creek running into Kipp's Bay, as it was afterward called, about where East 34th street now reaches the East River, "where they cross the water over the stones,"* to a large stream emptying into Turtle Bay, about the foot of East 47th street, "where the beech tree lays over the water,"† and from the East River it extended back to the Indian trail, which subsequently became the Highway, known as the "Old Boston Post Road," leading from the lower part of the Island through its centre to Westchester County.

Having thus become the proprietor of the soil, Nicholas at once prepared to defend it; and upon a

* This stream was crossed upon stepping stones, as it is still marked on old maps.

† Probably from the fact that a beech tree was thrown over the creek, forming a rude bridge upon the line of the principal trail, which here crossed the stream.

projecting point of land on the southerly shore of Deutil Bay, he erected a stone building, as a dwelling for himself and his family, and into which, in case of necessity, his neighbors also might retreat, and defend themselves against any attack of the savages.

This building, which stood, until a few years ago, on the shore near the foot of East 45th street, after various changes was taken possession of by the government, shortly before the commencement of the Revolutionary war, enlarged and used as a magazine for military stores. Its gallant capture by the "Sons of Liberty," on the night of the 20th of July, 1775, and the transfer of its stores to Cambridge for the use of the provincial army there, were among the stirring incidents which marked the commencement of hostilities, and have made the "Old Store House" on Turtle Bay memorable in the history of the war.

Dissatisfied with the result of his first experiment with popular representation, Kieft, on the 18th of February, 1642, issued a proclamation dissolving the twelve men, and proceeded to carry out his project of destroying the village which had given shelter to the murderer of Claes Schmidt.

For this purpose he dispatched a force of eighty men, with a guide who professed to know the country, expecting to come upon the doomed village unawares and surprise the savages. But the guide lost his way, night came on, and fearing that they would

themselves be surprised, the expedition returned to Manhattan Island without accomplishing its object. But it was not without its effect, for the Indians, learning that a serious attempt had been made by the Director to carry out his threats, came in and sued for peace; and in March, 1642, a treaty was concluded, by the terms of which the murderer was to be surrendered.

Apprehensions of danger from the savages being now happily removed, Nicholas prepared to devote himself to the improvement of his estate and the culture of tobacco. And here, upon this beautiful spot which he had chosen for his home, although in a primitive wilderness, he lived amid nature's richest profusion.

Dominie Megapolensis, writing from personal observation in New Netherlands about this time, says: "In the forests, by the water side, and on the neighboring islands, there grew wild, abundance of nuts of every kind—chestnuts, hazel and walnuts—and plums in great variety. The hills were covered with thickets of bilberries—the flats with strawberries, which grew in such plenty that the people went there to lie down and eat them. Vines clambered over the trees, bearing grapes in abundance, as good and sweet as those of Holland.

"Deer were plenty, and so fine, that in harvest time, there was sometimes two inches thick of fat upon their ribs. Turkeys also were abundant, while partridges, pheasants and pigeons, were found in

such flocks that a man might stand in his own door in the morning and evening, and shoot them in great numbers.

“The brooks and rivers, as well as the bay, were alive with fish of various kinds; perch, cat-fish, sun-fish, also shad, bass, &c. In the spring, perch were so plenty that a boy with a hook could catch fifty in an hour. Oysters of the finest flavor, and clams, abounded upon the shores. Game was so cheap as to be hardly worth powder and shot. The Indians sometimes selling a stag for a loaf of bread, or even a tobacco pipe.”

The land was well provisioned with all the necessities of life; only European goods, cloths, woolens, and linens were scarce and dear; but the soil and climate were well adapted to the raising of tobacco, which formed a circulating medium not less current among their English neighbors of New England and Virginia, than among the Dutch.

The spirit of religious intolerance, which still prevailed in New England and Virginia, was constantly causing new accessions to the number of English settlers in New Netherlands; for many of the emigrants to the English Colonies, when first driven from their homes in England by the fires of persecution, had sought religious freedom in Holland; and when the intolerance of their own countrymen here again drove them out of their midst, they naturally turned to the Dutch, to find again the liberty they had enjoyed in the parent country.

During the following year the emigration from New England to the Dutch attained such proportions, that the General Court of Massachusetts took notice of it, and sought to dissuade their people from removing thither, on the ground that they were "thereby strengthening the Dutch, their doubtful neighbors;" but the inducements offered to emigrants were so great, that even Rhode Island was considered a less desirable place of residence for absolute freedom of conscience than New Netherlands.

By these new settlers, during the year 1642, several considerable English colonies were established under the Dutch in the vicinity of Manhattan Island; and by similar accessions the population of Hopton, the English settlement around Dentil Bay, increased during the same time to some thirty families.

These large additions of English-speaking people, and the necessity of constant intercourse between them and the Director General, who was but imperfectly acquainted with their language, rendered it necessary for the latter to employ an assistant, familiar with both languages; and in December, 1642, George Baxter was appointed English Secretary, "to assist the Director now and then with advice, and to write his letters," at a yearly salary of two hundred and fifty guilders.

Soon after the treaty with the Westchester savages, the quiet of the community had been again

disturbed by the news of another murder, committed by an Indian near Hackensack; but the English of Hopton were now so strong in numbers, that, with the stone house of Nicholas on Dentil Bay as a place of refuge, they had little apprehension of danger from the natives.

But a few months afterward, the colony was thrown into the utmost consternation by rumors which reached it from various sources, that Miantonomah, the Great Sachem of the Narragansetts, had contrived to draw all the Indians throughout the country into a general conspiracy to exterminate the whites, and that a time had been fixed for the assault, which was said to be after harvest.

The authorities of Hartford and New Haven had given credit to the rumors, and concerted measures for their defense. The Governor and Magistrates of Massachusetts had ordered all the Indians within their jurisdiction to be disarmed, and had called a meeting of the General Court of that colony, before which Miantonomah was summoned to attend and answer.

The danger seemed so imminent that no time was to be lost in preparing for defense. Nicholas, having organized the people employed upon his Turtle Bay plantation, and the neighboring settlers, into a military company, they were prepared to defend themselves; but the prompt and decided action taken by Massachusetts upon the discovery of the plot, prevented its execution.

The fact, however, was established, that such a conspiracy had actually existed; it was therefore deemed advisable to keep up the military organization, and relax no precautions to prevent a surprise. The discovery of the plot, and the knowledge on the part of the savages that the whites were prepared to defend themselves, would undoubtedly have put an end to all danger from that source, and affairs would soon have resumed their usual course, had not an act of unparalleled barbarity and brutality on the part of Keift, the Director General, and his few blood-thirsty followers, fired the Indian blood, and united all the neighboring tribes as one man, in a determination to exterminate a race which could perpetrate crimes at which even savages shuddered.

Dutch Records, Albany.
Hazard's Historical Collections.
O'Callaghan's New Netherlands.
Riker's Annals of Newtown.

CHAPTER VII.

1643.

INDIAN OUTBREAK OF 1643—SAVAGES SEEK SHELTER UNDER FORT AMSTERDAM—TREACHEROUSLY MURDERED BY THE DUTCH AT PAVONIA AND CORLEAR'S HOOK—DE VRIES' ACCOUNT OF MASSACRE—GENERAL UPRISING OF INDIANS—HOPTON DESTROYED—SETTLERS ESCAPE TO FORT AMSTERDAM—NICHOLAS COMMISSIONED TO ENROLL THE ENGLISH FOR DEFENSE—INDIANS SEEK PEACE—TREATY OF MARCH, 1643.

About the first of February, 1643, a party of the brave and warlike Mohawks, the terror of the other tribes, whom they had subjugated and rendered tributary, "each with a gun upon his shoulder," made a descent upon the Indians inhabiting the shores of the lower Hudson River, who had been induced by some of the Long Island Indians to withhold the tribute of dried clams and wampum, which they had agreed to pay their conquerors;* and although the assailants were less than a hundred in number, the populous tribes in Westchester and its vicinity fled before them, like sheep before wolves. Half dead with cold, hunger and fright, four or five hundred of the fugitives sought the protection of the whites upon Manhattan Island.

In this pitiable plight, the kind-hearted colonists forgot all their animosities and gave them food and shelter; and for fourteen days the savages rested in

* Gabriel Furman—Notes to Denton, p. 37.

security under the walls of the fort in New Amsterdam ; then venturing forth, some crossed the river to Pavonia on their way to their friends, the Hackensacks ; others removed to a place behind Corlear's Hook, where a number of Rockaway Indians had lately set up their wigwams.

But while one portion of the community, by acts of kindness to the poor fugitives, had been establishing a lasting claim to their gratitude, another portion had been plotting their destruction. A number of blood-thirsty wretches who had found refuge in New Amsterdam, headed by Cornelius Van Tienhoven, the Secretary, now approached the Director General, while heated with wine at a Shrovetide feast, and reminded him that the murder at Hackensack was still unavenged ; that the Westchester tribe had not yet surrendered the murderer of Claes Schmidt, according to the terms of the treaty ; and declared that the people cried for revenge. Van Tienhoven and Corporal Stein had already been to Pavonia and Corlear's Hook, and marked the positions of the Indians, and found that they could be surprised in their sleep, and murdered without danger to the assailants ; and daring to raise their impious hands to Heaven, these miscreants declared "that God had evidently delivered the enemy into their hands," and asked permission from the Director to attack the savages, now resting in security under the memory of the kindness so recently extended to them by the whites.

Kieft, equally blood-thirsty, and gloating over the prospect of wholesale murder, was deaf to the remonstrances of the Council, and of David Pieterse De Vries and others, who saw the madness of the act; and ambitious to perform a deed which he declared was worthy of the heroes of ancient Rome, gave the requisite orders, and in the dead of night between the 25th and 26th of February, 1643, two expeditions went forth—one party, of volunteers, fitly headed by Mayrn Andrieson, a noted pirate and free-booter, proceeded against the Indians behind Corlear's Hook; and the other, consisting of a company of soldiers under the command of Sergeant Rodolph, crossed over to Pavonia, under the guidance of Corporal Hans Stein, who, with Van Tienhoven had planned the attack.

We are not left to imagination, to picture the horrors of that night, when eighty Indians were murdered in their sleep at Pavonia, and forty more were ruthlessly slaughtered in cold blood at Corlear's Hook.

David Pieterse De Vries, who with Dominie Bogardus and La Montagne, a member of the Council, remained with the Governor to the last, hoping to dissuade him from his bloody designs, has given us an account of the doings of that night, which threatened to put an end to the rule of the West India Company in New Netherlands.

"I remained that night at the Governor's," says DeVries, "and took a seat in the kitchen near the

fire. At midnight I heard loud shrieks, and went out to the parapet of the Fort and looked toward Pavonia. I saw nothing but the flashing of the guns. I heard nothing more of the yells and clamors of the Indians. They had been butchered during their sleep. I went back to the fire, and shortly after, an Indian man and woman whom I knew, entered and told me that they had fled from Pavonia; that the Indians of Fort Orange had surprised them, and that they came there for shelter.

"I told them immediately to go away, that that was no place of refuge for them; that it was not the savages of Fort Orange who were murdering those of Pavonia, but it was the Swannikins, the Dutch themselves.

"They then asked me how they could get away from the fort. I led them out of the gate where there was no sentinel, and they went into the woods. About day-break, the soldiers returned again to the fort, having murdered eighty Indians." "And this," exclaims De Vries, "was the feat worthy of the heroes of Old Rome!" To massacre a parcel of Indians in their sleep, to take the children from the breasts of their mothers, butcher them in the presence of their parents, and throw their mangled limbs in the fire or water. "Some of the sucklings fastened to their little boards (cradles) were cut in pieces. Some were thrown alive in the water, and when their parents rushed in to save them, the soldiers prevented their landing, and let both par-

ents and children drown. Children of five or six years of age, and some old and decrepid men, who had escaped in the darkness, and found shelter in the bushes and reeds, crawling out of their hiding places in the morning to beg for some food, or permission to warm themselves, were killed in cold blood and thrown in the water. Some came running to us in the country, with their hands cut off; some who had their legs cut off, were supporting their entrails in their arms; others were mangled in other various horrid ways too shocking to be recorded. And these miserable wretches, as well as some of our own people, did not know but that they had been attacked by the Indians of Fort Orange."

A few days afterwards, a number of Dutch farmers on Long Island, thinking they could now plunder the trembling savages with impunity, undertook to carry off two wagon loads of corn, belonging to some neighboring Indians. The natives attempting to defend their property, two of them were killed.

By this outrage, the Long Island tribes, who had always been friends and allies of the Dutch, were also estranged from them, and now formed an alliance with the River Indians and other neighboring tribes, who were burning to avenge the massacre of their people; and who, upon discovering that it was the Dutch, and not the Mohawks, who had attacked them at Pavonia and Corlear's Hook, had combined to exterminate the Dutch.

Eleven tribes, numbering over two thousand warriors, now rose in open war, and every white man upon whom they could lay hands was killed. They burned the dwellings, fences and out-houses, killed the cattle, destroyed the grain, haystacks and tobacco, and laid waste the whole country, from the Raritan River to the banks of the Connecticut; driving the panic-stricken settlers to the same refuge the Indians themselves had lately sought, in Fort Amsterdam. Roger Williams, whom the people of Massachusetts would not permit to cross their territory to take ship at Boston for England, coming to New Amsterdam to find passage from this port, arrived in the midst of the panic. "Mine eyes," says he, "saw the flames of the towns, the fright and hurries of men, women and children, and the present removal of all that could, to Holland."

"But even maddened by the slaughter of their own wives and children," De Vries says, "the savages did not kill any females or children," and even in their blind rage, distinguished between their friends and their enemies. They had attacked the dwelling of De Vries, but as soon as they learned that it was the property of their friend, they desisted.

De Vries says, "They burned my farm and barns, destroyed my cattle, tobacco, and everything they found. My people saved themselves by taking refuge in my dwelling, which being constructed

with embrazures, they defended themselves through these. While we were thus stationed for defense, the very same Indian who came to me that horrid night in the fort, when I was sitting near the fire at the Governor's, and whom I had conducted out of the fort, made his appearance. He told the other Indians that I was a good chief, and how I had assisted him, and was much opposed to the murdering of their people." They cried out to my people not to fire, that if they had not destroyed my cattle and farm, they would not do it now, but would leave everything as it was; and so they broke up the siege of my house."

Nicholas had anticipated that a terrible reckoning would be exacted from the Dutch by the savages, for the blood of their friends, and he was therefore not surprised when the sound of the war-whoop told him that the avengers of blood were upon the path of the murderers; but from the good relations which he had always maintained with the natives, he had little apprehension of danger to himself or his property. He had lived for three years upon the line of the principal trail followed by the Indians who visited New Amsterdam; but although in daily intercourse with the Dutch and Indians, he had not taken part in any of the troubles which had arisen between them, and was well known as an Englishman, and one of the party among the settlers, of which De Vries was the leader, who had always counseled forbearance, kindness and justice, as the

policy to be pursued by the whites in their dealings with the natives; and if he could have had an opportunity of parleying with the Indians before the destruction of his plantation, he might have saved it.

Nicholas knew that the animosity of the savages was particularly directed against Kieft and his secretary, Van Tienhoven, and their special adherents; but he had not been blind to the fact that the appointment of George Baxter, one of the settlers of Hopton, as English Secretary, had so far identified him with Kieft as to cast suspicion upon the other English, and that this might counteract in a measure the good feelings the savages had entertained toward them; and therefore, although confident of the good will of the natives toward him, Nicholas had neglected no precautions to prevent a surprise, or for defense; but these were of little avail against the overwhelming horde of infuriated savages, who now swarmed over the Island, and like locusts, in a few hours consumed or destroyed everything in their way.

Of Hopton, the first English settlement upon Manhattan Island, nothing remained but the stone building on the shore of Turtle Bay, in which Nicholas Stilwell and the survivors of the colony now found refuge. Surrounded by desolation, fortunately the bay and river still furnished them the means of escape; and with all that remained for them to defend—their lives, which they still held by a tenure as frail as the light canoes in which they now en-

trusted themselves—they sought the protection of Fort Amsterdam.

All the settlers upon Manhattan Island and its vicinity, who had escaped the vengeance of the savages, were now huddled together in the fort, bewailing their utter ruin, through the folly and criminality of Kieft, and they now threatened to abandon the colony in a body.

In this emergency, the Director saw no resource to prevent a depopulation of New Amsterdam, but to take all the settlers into the service of the Company, for two months, until peace could be re-established, “as he had not sufficient soldiers for public defense.”

As few of the English understood Dutch, Nicholas Stilwell was commissioned to command a company of English, composed of the late settlers at Turtle Bay, and others of that nation who, in the general enrollment, now found themselves in the military service of the Dutch.

But the savages had now glutted their revenge, the season for planting, hunting, and fishing was approaching, and they were willing to make peace. Three messengers from the great chief Pennawitz, the sachem of the Canarsies, then the most numerous and powerful of the tribes of Long Island, approached the fort with a white flag. They had been sent to inquire why the Dutch had murdered their people, who had always been their friends.

Kieft eagerly seized the olive branch thus held out. De Vries and Jacob Olfertzen volunteered to

return with the messengers to Rockaway and have a "talk" with the Indians.

The ambassadors from the Dutch arrived in the evening at the wigwam of the "one-eyed chief," where they were hospitably entertained, and the next morning at day-break they met in council sixteen chiefs, who were awaiting their arrival.

After hearing a statement of their grievances, De Vries invited the sachems to accompany him to Fort Amsterdam, where he promised they should receive presents and satisfaction for their injuries. Some of the savages hesitated to trust themselves in the power of those who had so treacherously murdered their friends. But De Vries pledged his word for their safety, and they were satisfied and went; "for he had never lied to them as the other Swannikins had, and they could trust him."

On the 25th of March, 1643, at 3 o'clock, P. M., the chiefs of the Long Island Indians, some twenty in number, assembled at Fort Amsterdam, and a treaty was concluded between them and the Dutch which was ratified as usual by presents to the chiefs. But the River Indians, who had suffered more deeply, were not so easily induced to forget the treachery of the Dutch, and it was only through the representations of their brethren of Long Island that they were finally induced to lay down their arms and consent to the peace.

On the 22d of April, 1643, a treaty was also concluded with the river tribes, but the presents

by which it was ratified, were not considered by the latter sufficient to wipe out the memory of their great wrongs; and although they consented to bury the tomahawk, their evident discontent showed that it had not been buried entirely out of sight, and that they had only signed a "hollow peace."

Dutch Record, Albany.

De Vries' Voyages, N. Y. Historical Society Col., 2d series, vol. 1.

O'Callaghan.

Brodhead.

CHAPTER VIII.

1643.

**NICHOLAS PURCHASES NEW RESIDENCE NEAR THE FORT—SETTLERS
NOW PERMITTED TO TAKE UP LOTS ON MANHATTAN ISLAND—
NEW AMSTERDAM, IN 1643—ARRIVAL OF LADY DEBORAH MOODY
—SHE LAYS OUT SETTLEMENT ON LONG ISLAND—GRAVENZANDE—
ENGLISH FROM HOPTON REMOVE THERE.**

Nicholas had never despaired of his adopted country, even in its darkest days; he had purchased his Turtle Bay plantation on the eve of a threatened Indian war, for which the colony was totally unprepared; and now that he was houseless, he was not one of those who proposed to abandon the country, but set about to provide a new home for his family.

Having no faith in the "peace" lately concluded, with which the savages were so evidently dissatisfied, he prudently chose his new residence near the fort in New Amsterdam, and purchased the house and lot on the northerly side of the present Beaver street, about midway between Broadway and Broad street, where the stores Nos. 23 and 25 Beaver street now stand.

This lot is described as "situated upon the northerly side of the Beaver graft, between the lot of the Deacon's on the west, and of Toussaint Briell, on the east; being three rods in front, and three rods and

three feet in the rear, and fourteen rods in depth, extending back to the sheep pasture."

Prior to the late Indian troubles, no deeds or grants had been made to private persons, for lands, below what is now Wall street, the Company having reserved that portion of Manhattan Island for its own use. But since the abolition of the exclusive privileges of the West India Company, in 1638, persons desirous of engaging in trade had been permitted to occupy lots for building purposes in the vicinity of the fort, around which a considerable village had thus grown up.

When, during the late terrible events, they had threatened to abandon even this spot, which had come to be considered the only place of safety, the Director and Council had deemed it prudent to attach the inhabitants to the colony, by giving them a title to the land which they had settled upon and improved; and the earliest patents for lots in New Amsterdam bear date, April, 1643.

Up to this time, no formal plan had been adopted for laying out the city, and the original settlers had located their houses without any regard to regularity, each one consulting only his own convenience or fancy. There were no established streets or roads; but circumstances, and the natural geography of the Island, had led to the selection of several convenient thoroughfares, which, when the town was subsequently laid out, were adopted, and became permanent streets, and have remained so.

The principal of these, was that called the Highway; this led from the fort, and the parade ground in front of it, now known as Bowling Green, through the fields owned by the West India Company, to the lower end of the present City Hall Park. This was afterward adopted as Broadway. The trail leading to the upper end of the Island here branched off to the east, and following what is now Park-row and Chatham street, led through Chatham square and the Bowery, along what subsequently became the Boston Post Road to Westchester County.

A second road ran from the fort, along the shore of the East River, which was on the present line of Pearl street, to a stream of water or creek, which ran through the center of what is now Broad street. This creek formed a natural outlet to the marsh, which spread over a considerable portion of the "sheep pasture," a meadow then extending from Beaver street to the present line of Wall street, and from the rear of the lots fronting on the Highway—now Broadway—to near the present line of South William street.

This creek, which was navigable for small boats as far as Beaver street, was called "the graft," or ditch; a branch of it extended through Beaver street nearly to Broadway, and was called the Beaver graft.

A road ran from the river, along the side of the graft or ditch, occupying the present position of Broad street, as far as Beaver street, and along the

Beaver graft to Bowling Green. An open space east of the fort, below Bowling Green, comprising the present Whitehall street, was called the Market Field. Three streets connected this with the graft in Broad street; one, called the oblique road, afterward known as Petticoat lane, now Market-field street; the second, called the common Highway, and subsequently named Stone street, from the fact that it was at the time the only paved street; and the third called Bridge street, as it led from the fort to the bridge over the graft, where it joined a road running along the shore or strand, to the ferry to Long Island, at the foot of what is now Peck slip.

These were the only thoroughfares in New Amsterdam in 1643, and the settled portion of the town was comprised between Broad street on the east, and the fort on the west, Beaver street on the north, and Pearl street, then the Strand, on the south.

The lots laid out on the west side of Broadway, as far north as Morris street, extended to the North River; Greenwich, Washington and West streets having been filled in from the Hudson, while Water, Front, and South streets have been gained by accretion from the East River.

Nicholas had just located himself in his new home near the fort, when in June, 1643, Lady Deborah Moody arrived in New Netherlands. This lady, according to Governor Winthrop, "a wise and

anciently religious woman, being taken with the error of denying baptism to infants, and having been dealt with, by many of the elders and others, and admonished by the church of Salem whereof she was a member, but persisting still in her errors, to avoid further trouble, &c., removed to the Dutch, against the advice of all her friends. Many others, infected with Anabaptism, removed thither also."

The arrival of this lady, accompanied by her son, Sir Henry Moody, and a number of other English families of good condition, intending to settle in New Netherlands, was at this moment a most auspicious event, and was looked upon as a presage of future prosperity for the colony. She was hospitably received by the Director, and invited to select from any of the unoccupied lands of the Company, a location for her settlement.

Having examined the neighboring country, she fixed upon a beautiful tract upon the westerly end of Long Island, adjoining that granted to Anthony Jansen Von Salce; a large portion of which had been cleared by the Indians for the purpose of cultivation, and where the wood had been left standing, it had been cleared of underbrush;* and here, by the express will and consent of the Director and Council, her ladyship and her associates determined to form a settlement, to which the Director General, gave the name of "Gravenzande," after the ancient city of that name, in

* Silas Wood's Long Island.

Holland, near the mouth of the Maas, where the ancient counts of Holland held their court, previous to their removal to the Hague in 1250.*

Lady Moody and her son, Sir Henry, soon attracted to their new settlement the greater number of the English settlers, who prior to that time had taken refuge among the Dutch upon Manhattan Island, from the religious intolerance of New England, as well as some who had been attracted thither for purposes of trade.

Nicholas Stilwell, George Holmes, Thomas Hall, George Baxter, and in fact all the English who had previously located themselves around Turtle Bay, and whose plantations had been destroyed in the late troubles, took up lots in the new settlement, which it was believed would soon supersede New Amsterdam, as the chief city of the Province.

In its proximity to the sea, the possession of a fine sheltered harbor, now known as Gravesend Bay, the creek, connecting which with Sheepshead Bay, furnished a convenient means of internal communication by water, Gravenzande seemed to possess advantages over any other location; and these, it was believed, would in time secure to it the position of the commercial capital of the Province.

It was therefore originally proposed to lay out the town in proximity to the bay, and with refer-

* O'Callaghan's New Netherland.

ence to its future as a place of trade, rather than as the centre of an agricultural community.

The spot however selected by Lady Moody and her son for their residence, was that where the town was subsequently built; and here the first building was erected of logs, which might serve for protection in case of an attack by the savages.

Valentine's History of City of New York.
Thomson's Long Island.
New Amsterdam Records.

CHAPTER IX.

1643-4.

KIEFT EMBEZZLES PRESENTS DUE INDIANS ON TREATY OF PEACE—
HOSTILITIES RENEWED—SETTLERS OF GRAVENZANDE ORGANIZE
A MILITARY FORCE UNDER NICHOLAS STILWELL—SAVAGES ATTACK
ANNE HUTCHINSON AND MURDER HER FAMILY—DESTROY VREDES-
LAND AND MESPAT—ATTACK GRAVENZANDE AND ARE REPULSED
BY FORCE UNDER NICHOLAS—SETTLERS ABANDON THE OTHER
VILLAGES AND FLOCK INTO NEW AMSTERDAM—TAKEN INTO
SERVICE OF THE COMPANY—JOHN UNDERHILL GIVEN THE COM-
MAND—INDIAN MASSACRE AT HORSE NECK—TREATY OF PEACE
OF 1644.

William Kieft, who, as Director General, now controlled the affairs of New Netherlands, had years before at Rochelle, where he had been engaged as a merchant, suffered the ignominy of having his portrait affixed to the gallows of the city as a fraudulent bankrupt. Subsequently he had been employed to ransom some Christians who had been captured by the Turks and consigned to slavery, and was said to have embezzled the funds raised by the friends of the captives for their redemption, and intrusted to him, and to have left the Christians in bondage.

But all his other crimes were comparatively venial beside that of which he had now been guilty—in embezzling the presents by which the late treaty with the River Indians should have been ratified, and the withholding of which, threatened to involve the whole community in the horrors of an Indian war.

He had received warnings from a friendly chief of the discontent of the savages at his inadequate presents, and that the young braves were clamorous for war. Instead of allaying their discontent, as he might even then have done, by timely presents, measuring this friendly chief by his own groveling standard, he sought to bribe him by an offer of 200 fathoms of wampum, to kill the young men who wished to dig up the hatchet.

Those, whom the offer of a few beaver skins as presents, would have made firm friends, enraged at the niggardly conduct of Kieft, now, as enemies, seized a boat laden with four hundred of those coveted peltries, and killed one of the persons in charge of it. Other savages, tempted by this rich booty, made similar attacks, and two other boats were captured, and nine more Christians lost their lives in attempting to defend their property.

And now came war in the most terrible shape it could assume. The wild whoop did not ring through the woods or along the shore to announce the deadly attack. The Indians did not only hide behind trees or rocks, or creep stealthily at midnight to fire the dwellings, and lay in wait for the escaping inmates, but retaliating the treachery of the Dutch, who, while pretending to protect, had lulled their people into security, and then murdered them in their sleep, not sparing even their wives and children, the savages now approached in the open face of day, with the hand of friendship ex-

tended, and at the first favorable moment, buried the tomahawk in the brain of their entertainers. Even the sacred garb of gratitude was assumed to cover an attack; some who pretended to have been befriended by the whites, visited them under the pretense of warning their benefactors against approaching danger, and murdered them.

Consternation again seized the community. News came in from all quarters, of ravages committed by the Indians, and the colonists were again called together to consult upon public affairs.

Eight men were now chosen by the Commonalty to act in their behalf, in concert with the Director; and of these, two were now selected from among the English settlers. One of these, Isaac Allerton, was one of the pilgrims of the "May Flower." He had been trading with New Netherlands for some time, and soon after the close of the Indian trouble, in the spring of 1643, had received a ground brief, or patent, for a lot in New Amsterdam, and had settled among the Dutch. Hoping through his influence to obtain some assistance from the neighboring English colonists in the present emergency, he was chosen one of the eight men, and with Thomas Hall, late of Turtle Bay, represented the resident English.

Lady Moody and her associates had but fairly commenced their new settlement on Long Island, when the Indian war thus broke out anew. But the company of English, originally organized by

Nicholas Stilwell at Turtle Bay, and who, after the destruction of Hopton, had been taken into the service of the Dutch, for two months in the spring, had, at the expiration of that time, removed in a body to Gravenzande; and as the necessity of being prepared at all times to defend their homes against the savages had never been lost sight of, they had kept up their organization in their new locality. At the first news of the Indian hostilities, anticipating an attack upon their settlement, they had prepared to give the savages a fitting reception. Other inhabitants of the West End of Long Island now joined their ranks, and the force was thus increased to forty able-bodied men.

Nicholas Stilwell was appointed Lieutenant, George Baxter, Ensign, and James Hubbard, Sergeant, and with such hasty preparations, and dispositions for defense, as the experience of their officers in Indian warfare enabled them to suggest, they awaited the appearance of the savages.

The first open attack of the red men, was upon the settlement of the celebrated Anne Hutchinson, who, flying from her persecutors in New England, had finally found a refuge among the Dutch, by whose permission she had settled upon a point of land, called after her "Anne's Hoeck," now known as Pelham Neck, near New Rochelle, in Westchester County. This lady, her son-in-law, Mr. Collins, and all the family were murdered, except one child, who was carried into captivity.

The Indians then proceeded to Vredeland—the land of peace—now Throg's Neck, where John Throckmorton, with thirty-five English families had made a settlement under the Dutch. The opportune passage of a boat, enabled a number of the settlers of this place to escape, but as many as remained, were slaughtered, their cattle killed, their barns and houses destroyed.

Thence, crossing over to Long Island, the savages attacked the settlement of the Rev. Francis Doughty at Mespat, now Newtown; drove the settlers from their lands, "with the loss of some men, and many cattle, besides almost all their houses, and whatever property they had." They then fell upon the settlement of Lady Moody, at Gravenzande.

Their easy victory over the defenceless widow and her children at Anne's Hoeck, and over the panic-stricken settlers at Vredeland and at Mespat, had led the Indians to expect little resistance in their attack upon Lady Moody; but they soon discovered that they had now a different enemy to deal with. The Colonists living in a great measure by hunting, had become expert marksmen, and having engrafted on the tactics of civilized warfare the wiles which they had learned from savages themselves, they were prepared at all points to meet them.

Concealed in the log hut of Lady Moody, which was built some distance inland, and with no

apparent preparation for defence, a strong party of the defenders awaited the onslaught of the savages, who approached the house stealthily, thinking that the unearthly yell with which they pounced upon their victims, would be the first intimation of their approach. But they were deceived, and when their prey seemed almost within their reach, they were themselves surprised by a volley of bullets, which made such sad havoc among them that they were glad to seek safety in flight.

The open, cleared land, around, afforded them no shelter, and they had not yet learned to stand up before fire-arms in the open field. They therefore sought the nearest cover, but before they had reached it, the unerring aim of the resolute colonists had laid so many warriors in the dust, that they were only too glad to get beyond the reach of their fire; and Gravenzande thus escaped the fate which overwhelmed all the neighboring settlements on Long Island.

In order, however, to guard against surprise, it was considered advisable to erect a stockade or fortification, into which the settlers might retreat with their cattle in case the savages should renew the attack. An application was accordingly made for a patent to authorize this; but matters of a more urgent nature now occupied the attention of the Director and Council, and the settlers of Gravenzande were left to defend themselves by

their own strong arms. But the reception which the savages had met with, on their first hostile visit to that town, had not been of a character to encourage a second, and they never repeated it.

Of the English, who had been driven from all the neighboring villages, except Gravenzande, over a hundred families flocked into New Amsterdam, and sought refuge from the savages under the walls of the fort; and unless protection was accorded to them on their plantations, they threatened to leave New Netherlands.

The Director General, so far from being in a condition to defend the outlying settlements, needed force to protect New Amsterdam, and therefore gladly took into the public service all the able-bodied English inhabitants of the neighboring villages, the Commonalty of New Amsterdam having agreed to provide for one-third of their pay; and a company of fifty was immediately enrolled from their number, armed and drilled, after having taken another oath of allegiance to the Prince of Orange, and sworn that "they would die in the service of the Company."

Upon the recommendation of Isaac Allerton, Captain John Underhill, one of the heroes of the Pequot war, was invited to take the command of the troop thus raised, but the wages offered by the Director were not satisfactory, and Underhill declined; he subsequently, however, accepted the command, upon the personal promise of Isaac

Allerton, as he afterward alleged, that he should receive higher wages than the Director had offered him.*

Under the command of Captain Underhill, this force made several successful expeditions against the Indians, but it was not until March, 1644, that an opportunity was found, of striking a decisive blow, which would put an end to the war.

At Strickland's Plain, on Horseneck, near Greenwich, Connecticut, over five hundred savages had assembled at an Indian village, to celebrate one of their festivals. Captain Underhill with his English, and also some Dutch soldiers, under Ensign Van Dyck, attacked their village by night, surrounded it and set it on fire; and as the wretched victims endeavored to escape from their burning wigwams, they were mercilessly shot down, or driven back into the flames. Of the entire assemblage, but eight savages escaped alive, and of those, three were badly wounded. Throughout the entire carnage, it is said, "not one of the sufferers, man, woman or child was heard to utter a cry, shriek or groan."

Upon the return of Captain Underhill and his force, to New Amsterdam, the Director General proclaimed a general thanksgiving for the "brilliant victory."

Some of the neighboring tribes which had suf-

* Underhill afterwards sued Allerton on this promise, but failed to recover. See Council Minutes, Albany, vol. 2, p. 372.

ferred most severely, wishing to bury the hatchet, solicited Captain Underhill to intercede in their behalf, and on the 6th of April, 1644, Mamaroneck, the chief of the Croton Indians, and also the sachems of several other tribes in Westchester County, and the vicinity of the recent slaughter, presented themselves at Fort Amsterdam, and through the intervention of Captain Underhill, a treaty was concluded with them.

Ten days afterward, several of the Long Island chiefs also appeared at the fort, supplicants for peace, with whom a similar treaty was concluded, and peace seemed once more about to smile upon the land.

De Vries' Voyages.
Winthrop's Journal, 306.
Dutch Records, Albany.

CHAPTER X.

1644-5.

NEWS OF MASSACRE BY INDIANS IN VIRGINIA—NICHOLAS ENTERS SERVICE OF THAT COLONY—PRECAUTIONS TAKEN AGAINST SAVAGES—ACCOUNT OF MASSACRE OF 1644—OPECHANCANAGH, THE GREAT KING, OLD AND DECREPID—CAPTAIN FLEETE OPENS PRETENDED NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE—DISCOVERS RETREAT OF KING—EXPEDITION ORGANIZED TO CARRY HIM OFF—TROOP UNDER ROGER MARSHALL AND NICHOLAS STILWELL CAPTURE THE KING—HIS DEATH.

While the people of New Netherlands were in the midst of their congratulations at the return of peace, messengers from Virginia passing through New Amsterdam, on their way to New England, brought the sad news of another terrible massacre committed by the Indians upon the English in Virginia, on the 18th of April, 1644, and an appeal from the panic-stricken settlers there, to their neighbors of New Netherlands for assistance against the savages.

Nicholas Stilwell, who had so lately experienced the horrors of Indian warfare, could not listen with indifference to this appeal of his suffering countrymen, and his services being no longer required for the protection of Gravenzande, he availed himself of the invitation of Sir William Berkely, Governor of Virginia, to enter the service of that colony; and in a few days found himself upon the banks of York River, in Virginia, in command of a troop

raised for the protection of the settlement, as well as for offensive operations against the Indians.

Since the first great massacre in Virginia, in 1622, the savages had been engaged in a constant succession of hostilities with the whites. The extension of the English settlements had gradually driven the red men from the rich soil, bordering upon the rivers, back into the interior, and was daily driving them still further from the home of their fathers; but they had contested, step by step, each encroachment, and in the incessant warfare which had been the result, although the number of their warriors had been greatly reduced, they had acquired a familiarity with fire-arms, and a skill in partizan warfare, that more than compensated for the diminution in their numbers.

The precautions which the previous massacre had shown the whites to be necessary, in their intercourse with the Indians, trading with them only in particular places, and always going armed, had almost destroyed any hopes of the savages of attacking them unawares. But a long period of comparative security had rendered the settlers indifferent, and they were only awakened to a sense of their danger, by the discovery of the plot of 1642, before referred to, of which Miantonomah was said to have been the head, and which had included the tribes of Virginia.

Thus reminded of their danger, the General Assembly, in March, 1643, had enacted that "the

22d day of March, be yearly kept in commemoration of our deliverance from the Indians, at the bloody massacre, on the 22d day of March, 1622;" and the minister of each parish was required to give notice of it, the Sabbath preceding that day.

At the same session, another law was passed, requiring the master of every family, to "bring with him to church on Sunday, one fixed and serviceable gun, with sufficient powder and shot, upon penalty of ten pounds of tobacco," and every servant, who, being commanded, omitted so to provide, was to receive twenty lashes.

It was probably owing to these timely warnings and precautions, that the whites of Virginia were not utterly exterminated upon the occasion of the second massacre.

Upon the death of Powhattan, Ope-chan-ca-nagh, the inveterate enemy of the whites, had succeeded to his power, and had enlarged the Indian confederacy which had been organized by his predecessor, until it now embraced all the tribes within a circuit of over six hundred miles.

He had long waited for an opportunity to exterminate the whites, and when he was now  "by some English, informed, that all was under the sword in England, and such division in our own land, that now was the time, or never, to root out all the English,"—combining all the tribes under his control, he fell suddenly, at noon-day, upon all

the settlements at once, and cut off upward of three hundred Christians." "And all the colonists had shared the same fate, if God had not abated the courage of the savages, in that moment of time they so traitorously slew the English; for they were, presently, after the first blow, so affrighted in their minds, that they had not the heart to follow the counsel their king had commanded, and prosecuted not their opportunity, but allowed the English to gather themselves together and find a way to defend themselves, and then offend their enemies, which by the great mercy of God was done and effected."*

In these few lines are comprised the meagre contemporary records of the second great massacre of Virginia. Of the war which followed, and which was ended by the capture and death of the great king, the cotemporary accounts which have survived the ravages of time are almost equally brief.

So dreadful and unexpected a calamity of course put an end at once to all operations of industry, and every man able to bear arms was called upon to assist in the defense of the colony. All persons living in isolated and exposed districts were required to abandon their dwellings and remove into settlements or gather into large families, containing not less than ten able-bodied men, with proper arms and ammunition.

* Perfect Description of Virginia. London, 1649.

After the first panic had subsided, in order to provide a permanent force for the protection of the colony, an act was passed, requiring every fifteen tithable persons to raise and support a soldier; in apportioning which burthen, it was declared, that every negro man or woman, and every white male, between the ages of 16 and 60 should be adjudged tithable.

Several forts were also built at designated points along the rivers, in which troops were posted to prevent the Indians from fishing, and also to cut down their corn, and destroy any of their habitations in the vicinity. In one of these forts, upon York River, near its head, Nicholas Stilwell was posted with his company.

By these means, the savages had been dispersed, and driven from all their towns and habitations, but they still continued to lurk up and down the woods in small parties, and for two years the colony were compelled to keep up this defensive force at a great expense, and with little prospect of any speedy relief from it.

It was said that Ope-chan-ca-nagh had now become so decrepid, by his great age, and the excessive fatigue he had endured in the war, as to be unable to walk alone; and that he was carried about by his men when he had a mind to move. That his flesh was all macerated, his sinews slackened, and his eye-lids had become so heavy that he could not see, unless they were lifted up by his

servants; yet, by the force of his great will, he was still able to control the confederate tribes.

Sir William Berkeley, the Governor, had long been satisfied that no peace was possible with the Indians so long as this aged monarch maintained his sway over them; and now hearing of his forlorn condition, the governor determined, if possible, to ascertain his whereabouts, seize his person and carry him off, which it was believed would destroy the confederacy and put an end to the war.

The only hope of accomplishing this object, was through pretended negotiations for peace, and there was considerable difference of opinion in the colony, as to the propriety of making use of such means, even to attain this desired end. But the Roman maxim that "Faith is not to be kept with heretics," finally prevailed; and it was determined to send messengers with proposals for peace, who would ascertain the whereabouts of the king, and if they should fail in effecting a peace, a force was to be at hand to carry him off.

An Englishman, known as Captain Henry Fleete, had settled among the Indians at Piscataway Creek, several years before the arrival of Lord Baltimore, and had been found by the latter, in 1634, living among them in great esteem. He was known to possess great influence with Ope-chan-ca-nagh and the principal chiefs among his confederates, and

soon after the last massacre had proposed to the Government of Maryland to bring about a peace between that colony and the Indians, probably by means similar to those subsequently adopted by Sir William Berkeley. The authorities of Maryland at first entertained his project, and prepared to carry it out, but afterward abandoned it, and he then made a similar proposition to the Governor of Virginia.*

The anxiety of the latter, to put an end to the war upon almost any terms, induced him to give the matter a favorable consideration, and an agreement was entered into between him and Captain Fleete, by which the latter was to be supplied with a force of sixty men with proper arms and supplies, with which he was to penetrate the Indian country and endeavor to bring about a peace with Ope-chan-ca-nagh; for which, if successful, Captain Fleete was to receive a reward of fifteen thousand pounds of tobacco.†

The expedition started in boats from Kickotan, now Hampton, and ascended the York river to its head, the junction of the Mattapony and Pamunkey rivers, now called West Point, which was known to be the residence of Ope-chan-ca-nagh and his tribe. Here Captain Fleete learned that the aged king was at a fort called Powhattan, built by the king of that name, in Henrico County, near the Falls of the James river. Thither Fleete followed him; but as

* Bozman.

† Hening's Statutes, Act XVIII, 1645.

had been anticipated, his mission was fruitless, so far as its avowed purpose was concerned; but it was successful in its real object, for it pointed out the road, which being followed, led to peace.

For the purpose of capturing the king, in case the peace negotiations should prove abortive, Sir William Berkeley had organized a force of picked men, with a company of cavalry, commanded by Captain Roger Marshall. This force set out from Jamestown by land, led by Sir William in person, and proceeded to West Point where it was joined by Nicholas Stilwell and his troop of horse. The expedition then followed the trail of Captain Fleete until it came upon the place of the king's retreat, when, as had been previously arranged, Captain Roger Marshall by a sudden charge of his cavalry dispersed or killed the guards and attendants of the king, while Nicholas Stilwell seized the person of the aged monarch and carried him off bodily to the English camp, and the expedition returned safely with the prisoner to Jamestown.*

Sir William desired to send his royal captive to England, hoping to gain reputation by presenting to his sovereign, a monarch who, at his pleasure, could have called into the field ten times as many Indian warriors as there were English in the whole colony.

But although the Governor had given strict orders that the prisoner should be treated with all respect and tenderness, he could not protect him from the

* Beauchamp Plantagenet's New Albion, 1648.

violence of those who had suffered so many calamities through his means. One of the colonists, seeing in the prisoner only the savage monster who had wrought such ruin and bloodshed in the colony, fearing that he might escape, or, being given up by some treaty, might thus evade punishment, could not resist the opportunity for revenge; and shot him in the back, giving him a mortal wound.

But, although borne down by the weight of years and infirmities, wounded and a captive, Opechancanagh could not forget that he was a king; and when the rumors of his approaching death had drawn together a curious crowd, who were permitted to gaze upon his dying couch—feeling keenly the indignity—without noticing the intruders, he commanded the Governor to be called; and when Sir William made his appearance, the captive monarch, with difficulty raising his head, uttered that noble reproof—“Had it been my fortune,” said he, “to have taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, I should not have exposed him as a show to my people.”

As had been anticipated, the death of the king was speedily followed by the dissolution of the Indian confederacy, which his great genius alone had so long maintained; and overtures of peace having been made separately to the several tribes, were gladly accepted, and solemnly ratified, in the presence of the Commissioners of the colonists and of the different tribes.

Beverley.

Burk.

Bozman.

CHAPTER XL

1646.

GOVERNOR CALVERT DRIVEN OUT OF MARYLAND BY CLAYBOURNE—
IS PROTECTED BY THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA—NICHOLAS
RECRUITS A COMPANY IN VIRGINIA, AND GOES TO ASSISTANCE
OF CLAYBOURNE IN MARYLAND—PROCLAMATION OF GOVERNOR
OF VIRGINIA—CAPTAIN HILL SENT AMBASSADOR TO MARYLAND
—SECURES PRIVATE PROPERTY OF LORD BALTIMORE AND SUR-
RENDERS KENT ISLAND AND PALMER'S TO CLAYBOURNE—NICHOLAS'
COMPANY DISBANDED IN AUGUST, 1646—HE RETURNS TO
NEW NETHERLANDS.

By the terms of the treaty of peace, all the lands between the York and the James river were finally ceded to the whites, and no Indian was to set his foot thereon under penalty of death, unless bearing the badge of a messenger.

The delightful climate and fertile soil of this peninsula, with which Nicholas had become acquainted during his campaigns, offered strong inducements, in addition to those held out by the Governor, for him to locate himself permanently in Virginia. But the prevalence of the same spirit of intolerance which had driven him out of New England, now again prevented him from settling among his own countrymen.

So long as the torch, the tomahawk, and the scalping knife of the savage threatened them, the colonists had seen in every new comer, only an accession to their available strength, and had gladly

welcomed an able-bodied man, without stopping to inquire whether he was a puritan or a heretic, a partizan of the king, or of the parliament.

But the laws requiring a strict conformity to the canons of the church of England, were still in force in Virginia, and none but conformists in the strictest and most absolute sense, were permitted to reside in the Colony "lest they should introduce the heretical contagion of their principles."*

When therefore peace was again restored, and the laws resumed their sway, Nicholas found that if he wished to acquire a residence in Virginia, it would be necessary for him to conform his views in matters of religion to those of his neighbors; and this he was not disposed to do, for it was not in ecclesiastical matters alone, that his views differed from those prevalent in the colony. In the civil war then raging in England, his sympathies were entirely with the Parliament, while the people of Virginia were among the firmest adherents to King Charles the First; and although by the recent defeat of his forces at Naseby, on the 14th of June, 1645, the royal cause had become utterly desperate, Sir William Berkeley, the Governor, had found means still to retain the Province in the obedience of the king.

But Governor Calvert, of Maryland, had not been so fortunate, and was then a fugitive from his government, living in Virginia under the protection of Sir William Berkeley.

* Hening's Statutes.

After the battle of Marston-moor, fought on the 3d day of July, 1644, with such disastrous results to the royal cause, the estates of those who had sided with the king were considered by the friends of the Parliament here, as liable to confiscation and sequestration whenever they were enabled to lay their hands upon them.

Lord Baltimore, the patentee of Maryland, had in the early stages of the civil war in England, taken part with the king, and his estates here, were therefore looked upon as lawful prize by the friends of the Parliament.

Prior to the issuing of Lord Baltimore's patent for the Province of Maryland, William Claybourne, the Secretary of State of the Kingdom (as the ancient dominion of Virginia was then called), under a royal license to trade with the Indians, had explored Chesapeake Bay, and discovered and planted the Island of Kent, and had also made a settlement on an Island, at the mouth of the Susquehanna river, named Palmer's Isle.

He and his partners in this enterprise claimed to be the proprietors of Kent Island, "having purchased the same from the Kings of the Country," and had established there, and at Palmer's Isle, a profitable trade with the Indians for beavers and other commodities.

These islands, however, were within the territorial limits of the patent, subsequently granted to Lord Baltimore; but as that instrument purported to

grant only lands theretofore uncultivated and unoccupied except by the savages, Claybourne and his partners claimed that Kent Island and Palmer's upon which they had already made settlements, were not included in the patent, and they therefore attempted to retain possession thereof by force. But in this they were unsuccessful, and Lord Baltimore having succeeded in ousting them, Claybourne had retired to Virginia and afterward proceeded to England to lay his grievances before the king.

Failing to obtain redress in that quarter, upon the declining of the royal cause, he had applied to the Commissioners appointed by Parliament to superintend the affairs of the colonies, and having obtained their countenance to his proceedings, he returned to Virginia, and from among the friends of the Parliament there, raised a military force for the avowed object of taking possession of the property of Lord Baltimore in Maryland, as an enemy of the Commonwealth. With these troops, Claybourne not only succeeded in re-possessing himself of Kent Island and Palmer's, but drove Governor Calvert, the representative of Lord Baltimore, out of the whole province, the government of which Claybourne assumed, Calvert escaping to Virginia, where he placed himself under the protection of Sir William Berkeley.

The successful termination of the Indian war in Virginia, in the spring of 1646, had set at liberty many of the soldiers and adventurers who had

been employed therein, and Governor Calvert endeavored to organize from among them, a military force for the purpose of attempting to regain the possession of his government.

In this he had the countenance, if not the assistance of Sir William Berkeley; but Claybourne and his friends, among whom were counted all the adherents of the Parliament, were not idle, and finding that Nicholas Stilwell, who had taken so active a part in the late war, had no sympathy with the king or his cause, they determined to enlist him in their support. Nicholas seeing no prospect of further employment in active service in Virginia, was easily induced to recruit a company of his late soldiers to assist Claybourne and the friends of Parliament, in maintaining their authority in Maryland; and long before Governor Calvert had succeeded in raising a force sufficient to justify an attempt on his part to re-capture his rebellious Province, Nicholas Stilwell had organized a company of veterans, escaped with them from Virginia, and placed his and their services at the disposition of Claybourne, on Kent Island.

This important accession to the ranks of the rebels, as Governor Calvert designated his opponents, caused no small disturbance not only to him, but also to Sir William Berkeley. The general assembly of the province being in session, the Governor communicated the facts to that body, and an act was immediately passed, reciting that

"Lieut. Nicholas Stilwell and others of the Colony had secretly conveyed themselves to Maryland and Kent Island, and divers other persons were likely to follow, if timely prevention were not had therein." It was therefore enacted that captain Thomas Willoughby, and Captain Edward Hill, two members of the house of Burghesses of Virginia "be authorized to go to Maryland and Kent, to demand the return of such persons as had already departed from the Colony, and to follow such further instructions as should be given by the Governor and council; and that a proclamation forthwith issue to prevent the further departure of the inhabitants of his Colony under penalty of severe censure to be inflicted by the Governor and council."^a

When Capt. Edward Hill, a few days afterward, made his appearance in Maryland as a messenger from the sister province, he found William Claybourne in full possession of the Government, and with the addition to his military force made by Nicholas Stilwell and his veterans from Virginia, there seemed little doubt of his ability to maintain his authority.

In view of the possibility of such a condition of affairs, Governor Calvert had requested Capt. Hill, if he could make no terms with Claybourne for the surrender of the government, to endeavor to secure the large private property of Lord Baltimore in the province; and under the circumstances, Capt. Hill

^a Henning's Statutes.

deemed it advisable to open negotiations at once for that purpose. He was not long in discovering that Claybourne was not inclined to be the champion of the Parliament any further than was necessary to secure his own possessions—the Island of Kent and Palmer's Isle—and upon those being assured to him, he was willing to surrender the remainder of the Province to any new Governor who might be appointed under Lord Baltimore's commission—but he would not treat for the return of Governor Calvert.

The result of these negotiations, was an agreement between Captain Hill and Claybourne, that the latter should retain the Island of Kent and Palmer's Isle, and that the rest of the Province should be surrendered to Capt. Hill, as Governor, under Lord Baltimore's commission; with authority to take and receive into his possession and custody, for his lordship's use, and his heirs, all stocks of cattle, rents of land, profits of customs, escheats, fines, forfeitures and confiscations; one-half of which, except the cattle, Captain Hill was to retain to his own use, as a reward for his services to his lordship.

There was a slight difficulty, however, in carrying this arrangement into effect, arising from the fact that Lord Baltimore's commission for the Government of the Province had not provided for the substitution, in this manner, of the Office of Governor under it. Governor Calvert was still living, and when absent, had sole authority to designate his own

substitute or successor, and upon his failure to do so, the Council of the Province were only authorized to name one of their own number to fill the office.

It was, however, considered necessary for the safety of the Province and for the security of Lord Baltimore's private property, that Captain Hill should be appointed to the office, in order to carry out his arrangement with Claybourne, and several of the members of the Council who still remained at St. Mary's, undertook to obviate the difficulty, by issuing to Capt. Hill a commission as governor of the province, purporting to have been signed by Governor Calvert himself in Virginia, reciting that he, Calvert, was absent from the province on his lordship's business.

Captain Hill, having thus secured a commission, valid upon its face, as Governor under Lord Baltimore, by virtue thereof, proceeded to carry out his arrangements with Claybourne, and formally surrendered to him the Island of Kent and Palmer's Isle, retaining under his own Government the rest of the Province, out of the revenues of which he had so handsomely provided for himself.

Claybourne, now feeling himself secure in the peaceable possession of his own domains, the services of Nicholas Stilwell and his troop were no longer required. His company was therefore disbanded in August, 1646, and Nicholas soon afterward returned to his home in New Netherlands.

The news had no sooner reached Virginia that

Claybourne was no longer prepared to maintain his authority by force of arms, than Governor Calvert, repudiating this action of Captain Hill on his behalf, took steps to recover the possession of his government. By holding out promises of unrestrained pillage, in case of resistance on the part of his rebel subjects, Calvert soon succeeded in enlisting a considerable force from among the adventurers in Virginia, with which, in December, 1646, he returned to Maryland, and falling upon the unsuspecting settlement of Claybourne on Kent Island, and on Palmer's Isle, at a blow reinstated himself in his government in Maryland.*

* Bozman's Maryland, Second Edition.

CHAPTER XII.

1646-7.

AFFAIRS IN NEW AMSTERDAM DURING THE ABSENCE OF NICHOLAS IN VIRGINIA—INDIAN DEPREDACTIONS CONTINUED—COLONY IN RUIN—PEOPLE COMPLAIN TO STATES GENERAL, AND DEMAND RECALL OF KIEFT—PATENT GRANTED FOR GRAVENZANDE—NICHOLAS RETURNS TO TURTLE BAY—PLANTATION CLAIMED BY SCHEPMOES—NICHOLAS SETTLES HIS CLAIM BY GIVING HIM HOUSE ON BEAVER GRAFT—ARRIVAL OF PETER STUYVESANT AS DIRECTOR GENERAL—HIS ARBITRARY CONDUCT AND IMPOSITION OF TAXES CAUSE DISSATISFACTION—THE NINE MEN FORWARD COMPLAINTS AGAINST HIM TO THE STATES GENERAL, HOLLAND—STUYVESANT DESIRES SUPPORT OF ENGLISH—NICHOLAS DETERMINES TO SUPPORT HIM AND REMOVES TO GRAVENZANDE.

When Nicholas Stilwell left New Amsterdam for Virginia, in April, 1644, although the Colony had suffered greatly from the effects of the war, it was hoped that the return of peace, would soon enable it to recover its prosperity. But the semblance of peace which had been patched up by Captain Underhill with the Indians at Stamford, Westchester, and Long Island, had borne little fruit for the Colony. Their principal enemies had been left unmolested, and all the following summer they had been allowed to gather in their crops undisturbed. The Indians had no sooner "stowed their maize in pits" than they recommenced their depredations, murdering the Dutch in every direction. Parties of Indians roved around Manhattan Island night and

day, killing people, not a thousand yards from the fort, and matters finally arrived at such a pass that no one dared to move a foot even to go for a stick of firewood without an escort.

For the protection of the few cattle which still remained to the settlers upon the Island, it had been found necessary to erect a palisade—"a good, solid fence"—across the lower end of the Island, near the present line of Wall street, extending from the great bowery on the North River, to the plantation of Emanuel on the East River. The Indians, finding themselves unopposed, had soon grown so bold and insolent that the few remaining boweries on the Island were in danger of being destroyed, and the colony seemed on the verge of utter ruin. To raise money to pay the English who had been taken into the Company's service as soldiers, the Director General had arbitrarily imposed an excise upon beer and beavers. This had been bitterly opposed by the eight men who represented the commonalty, and there seemed a prospect of the Colony being left entirely defenseless, by the disbanding of this force, when the Director General was happily relieved by the opportune arrival of one hundred and thirty Dutch soldiers, who had been driven out of Brazil by the Portuguese, and coming to Curaçoa, where the inhabitants could not maintain them, had been sent to Manhattan Island by order of Peter Stuyvesant, the Company's Director at Curaçoa.

An arrangement was at once made with the commander of this newly arrived troop, by which Director Kieft was enabled to dispense with the services of his English auxiliaries, who were thereupon "dismissed in the most civil manner."

With this force, the Director might with proper activity have punished the Indians so severely that they would themselves have gladly made advances for a general peace. But nothing was done; the soldiers were billeted on the inhabitants, the favorable season was allowed to pass, and the eight men, foreseeing the utter ruin of the colony under the present administration, addressed a memorial to the Directors at Amsterdam and to the States General, demanding the recall of Director General Kieft, otherwise the colonists themselves threatened to abandon the colony, and return with their wives and children to the fatherland.

Upon these complaints reaching the States General, Kieft and his Council, who were charged with having provoked the Indian wars, were ordered to repair immediately to Holland, to vindicate their administration before the authorities at home.

Kieft now began to realize the extent of the ruin in which his folly and dishonesty had involved the colony, and by the advice of his Council, determined at once to bring about a general peace with the Indians upon any terms. For this purpose he engaged the services of a number of the chiefs of

the friendly tribes, and through their influence, on the 30th of August, 1645, the Sachems of the various tribes with which the Dutch had been at war, were assembled in front of Fort Amsterdam, and there, "in the open air, in the sight of the sun, and of the ocean, seating themselves in grave silence, in presence of the Director General and Council of New Netherlands, and the whole commonalty of New Amsterdam, called together for the purpose, they solemnly smoked the great calumet of peace, and pledged themselves to eternal amity with the Dutch."

Upon the return of Nicholas Stilwell to New Amsterdam, in 1646, he found the colony in utter ruin. Although peace had now prevailed for a year the sad effects of the war remained. His family, which during his absence had occupied his house on the north side of Beaver Graft, within the inclosure of the palisades, had not been disturbed, but outside of this line only two or three boweries were left upon the Island; and the entire population had become so reduced, that not over a hundred men remained, and these were clustered in and around Fort Amsterdam.

The English settlements in the neighborhood had been entirely destroyed by the war, except that of Lady Moody, at Gravenzande. In recognition of the gallantry of the defense made by the settlers of that place during the late war, the Director General and Council had granted them a patent for a

large tract of land upon which they had commenced building a town.

Nicholas having been absent in Virginia at the time, had not been included among the patentees; and the new village having been already organized, he determined to return to his ruined plantation on Turtle Bay, and resume his occupation as a tobacco-planter. But he now found that during his absence Jan Jansen Schepmoes had reclaimed and taken possession of the plantation, in consequence of the non-payment by Baxter and Hartfoot, of the five hundred and twenty guilders, which they had agreed to pay Schepmoes, upon the original purchase of his improvements.

In settlement of this claim of Schepmoes, Nicholas now agreed to convey to him, the house and lot on the north side of the Beaver Graft, in which Nicholas then resided; and on the 25th of November, 1646, the arrangement was consummated in the usual manner, by being acknowledged before the Secretary of the Province, who made a minute of the transaction in the records of his office.

By the terms of this contract, Nicholas stipulated to move out of his house on the Graft next May day, but in case the house should be burned before that time, Schepmoes was to retain the plantation; showing that even at that early day the fashion of moving on May day prevailed in this city, and that fires were not of infrequent occurrence.

Nicholas had hardly settled himself a second time

on his Turtle Bay plantation, when, on the 11th May, 1647, the drooping spirits of the colonists were revived by the joyful news of the arrival of Peter Stuyvesant, the new Director General of the Province.

The administration of Kieft, thus brought to a close, had been so disastrous, that the advent of his successor was hailed by all classes as that of a deliverer; and the exuberant joy of the people found vent in such an extravagance of salutes, that almost the entire stock of powder in New Amsterdam was exhausted.

Stuyvesant had been sent here as "Redresser General" of grievances, and upon his arrival had promised to govern the people as his children, and—"under the blue heaven"—had loudly declared, that every one should have justice done to him.

Taking him at his word, soon after his inauguration, Joachim Peterson Kuyter, and Cornelius Melyn, two of the eight men chosen during the late administration, preferred charges of official misconduct against Kieft, and desired that testimony should be taken in regard to his conduct of the affairs of the colony during the late Indian wars, in order that it might be sent to Holland with the charges.

Stuyvesant foresaw that if an investigation was permitted into the alleged misconduct of his predecessor, it would become a precedent, which might be cited against him, in case any complaints should be made of his administration; he therefore put a sum-

mary stop to the proceedings; and Kieft then turning upon the complainants, under the countenance of the Director, prosecuted them for making these charges. Stuyvesant declared that in his opinion "it was treason to complain against one's magistrates, whether there was cause for it or not," and the late popular representatives were condemned and sentenced to banishment from the colony, and to pay heavy fines.

These harsh proceedings, and the general arbitrary conduct of Stuyvesant, soon clouded the bright anticipations which had been formed upon his first arrival. He however, immediately proceeded in his own vigorous manner to reform some of the most flagrant abuses in the municipal affairs of New Amsterdam—regulating the sale of liquors to the whites, and prohibiting entirely their sale to the Indians—laying out streets and roads, appointing surveyors of buildings to regulate the erection of new houses in New Amsterdam, and also fire wardens to take measures to prevent fires.

A Court of Justice was also organized, with Lubbert Van Dincklage as presiding judge; but with the important reservation that the opinion of the Director General should be asked upon all important questions, and that he should have the right to preside in person whenever he should see fit to do so.

The low condition in which the new director found the colony on his arrival, rendered it neces-

sary for him to retain, and even increase the excises and taxes, the imposition of which had been among the chief causes of complaint against his predecessor. The fort was in ruins, and he was required to repair it with all dispatch. Presents, which had been promised to the Indians upon the late peace, were still in arrear, endangering the public safety, and no money or goods in the treasury; and the people had now determined that they would not be taxed without their own consent.

Under these circumstances, Stuyvesant, after consulting his council, determined to conciliate the people by conceding to them a limited right of representation in the government; and ordered an election for eighteen of the "most notable, reasonable, honest and respectable persons" in the commonalty, from whom the Director and Council were to choose nine men, who were to confer with the council when called upon, and to act as tribunes of the people, in all means to promote the welfare of the Province.

The election having taken place, from the eighteen so nominated, nine were chosen, and their powers and duties defined by a proclamation issued on the 25th of September, 1647, which is worthy of remembrance, as being the first charter granting popular representation to the inhabitants of New Amsterdam.

In addition to giving advice and assistance to the Director and Council, the nine men were to exer-

cise limited judicial powers, as three of their number were to sit, in rotation, on the usual Court days, with the Council, and act as arbitrators upon such matters as should be referred to them.

The taxes recommended by Stuyvesant were approved by the nine men; but for the past five years the colony had been almost constantly involved in war with the Indians, by which all industry had been interrupted, and the people had no money to pay the taxes; many of the settlers were still in debt to the Company for stores furnished them during the war; and had also allowed their dues and rents to the Company to fall in arrears. But the requirements of his treasury were so pressing, that Stuyvesant was compelled to call upon all, not only to pay the new taxes, but to settle up their arrears although the company itself could not pay its own dues to the colonists.

This demand fell at this time with great hardship upon many who had nearly lost their all, during these troubles, and they appealed to the nine men for relief, but all that could be obtained, was an extension of time to meet these onerous dues by paying interest upon them at the rate of eight per cent.

To supply his exhausted treasury, heavy custom duties upon imports were also imposed, amounting in some instances to nearly thirty per cent.; and the avidity with which the Director, upon the slightest pretence of under-valuation, or of a violation of the

port or harbor regulations, confiscated the cargoes, and sometimes the vessels themselves, tended to divert trade from the colony ; for these "evil reports" spread to the English colonies, north and south, and even to the West Indies and Caribbee Islands, and soon not a ship dared venture here from those parts.

These proceedings soon resulted in retaliatory measures being taken by New England, by which the inhabitants of New Netherlands were prohibited from trading with the Indians within the jurisdiction of the New England Colonies, under penalty of confiscation of their goods ; and the Dutch found themselves thus cut off from this profitable trade.

The desolate and ruinous state of New Netherlands, contrasting so strongly with the flourishing condition of the neighboring English colonies, had been the subject of frequent complaints to Stuyvesant, who had laid the blame upon the Lord Directors of the Company, whose orders he claimed to have followed.

He had promised reforms and relief from some of their burthens, but none had come ; and the causes of dissatisfaction, not only continuing, but increasing, Stuyvesant, as a means of allaying the general discontent, proposed that two delegates should be chosen from New Amsterdam, and a like number from each of the other settlements in the neighborhood, English as well as Dutch, who should meet and propose a remedy for their grievances to be submitted to the Director.

But the nine men, believing that many of their

causes of complaint were chargeable to Governor Stuyvesant himself, determined not to act in concert with him, but to embody their grievances in a remonstrance and forward the same directly to the Government of the fatherland, with an appeal to the States General, for redress.

To add to the annoyance of the Governor, Cornelius Melyn, one of the former eight men who had been sentenced to banishment by Stuyvesant for making charges against Kieft, now returned to New Netherlands from Holland, with a reversal of his sentence and an order for restitution of his property, and a mandamus commanding Stuyvesant himself to repair to Holland and answer for his proceedings.

The remonstrance which the nine men had determined to send to Holland on behalf of the commonalty, had been drawn up by Adrian Van der Donck, one of their number, and he, with Jacob Van Cowenhoven and Jan Evertson Bout, two others of the nine men, were deputed to proceed with it to the Hague, and lay their grievances before the States General of Holland, and urge a radical change, not only in the administration, but also in the government of the colony, removing it entirely from the control of the West India Company.

This remonstrance contained a full description of New Netherlands, showing its great natural advantages over the neighboring colonies, and attributing its present low condition entirely to the mismanage-

ment of the company and its officers. It also reviewed in detail, the administration of Governors Kieft and Stuyvesant, exhibiting that of the latter in so unfavorable a light, as to render it exceedingly doubtful whether either the Company or the people, had any cause of congratulation upon his substitution for Kieft as Director General.

Stuyvesant used every means in his power to suppress this remonstrance, seizing the rough draft of it and arresting the author; but finding his efforts to prevent its reaching Holland unavailing, he sought means to counteract its effects. For that purpose, it became important for him to have a good understanding with the English settlers, who were the most prosperous of all the colonists, and having suffered the least from his arbitrary measures, or the burthens which he had found it necessary to impose, might be the more easily induced to detach themselves from the popular party, and, by an address endorsing his administration, counteract in a measure the complaints of his own people, through their representatives, the nine men.

George Baxter, who had been retained by Stuyvesant as English secretary, was one of the patentees of Gravenzande, which had now become one of the most important of the English settlements under the jurisdiction of the Dutch; but his duties required his presence in New Amsterdam, and his official connexion with the Director was such, that any action in which he prominently appeared, would lose much of

its effect as the independent act of the English commonalty.

Soon after the arrival of Governor Stuyvesant, Nicholas Stilwell had removed from his Turtle Bay plantation to New Amsterdam, and had purchased the house and grounds of Philip De Truy, situated in Smith's Valley, about the present corner of Maiden lane and Pearl street, then upon the shore of the East River, where he now resided.

*De Truix
near Truax*

Although his sympathies had always been with the cause of popular liberty, his experience had shown him the necessity, in cases of emergency, of resorting to extraordinary measures. He had seen in the circumstances by which Stuyvesant had been surrounded, a justification of many of his arbitrary acts, and had admired his energetic government. He could not forget that the Company, whose government it was now sought to overthrow, had given him shelter and a home in their dominions, when he was driven out from among his own people. And now, when his influence might have weight in favor of his benefactors, he determined to give them his full support, and to sustain, as far as possible, the administration of Stuyvesant and the government of the West India Company in New Netherlands.

With this view, in 1648, he made his arrangements to remove to Gravenzande, and sold his house and grounds at Smith's Valley to Henry Brazier. His Turtle Bay plantation, Nicholas continued to own

until 1653, when he conveyed it to Lubbert Von Dincklage.

This last conveyance is still preserved among the Dutch manuscripts at Albany, and is curious, as showing the form and mode of conveying lands in the city at that early date; it is as follows:

“Appeared at the day of the date hereof, before us, the Director General and Council in behalf of their High Mightinesses the Lords States General of the United Netherlands, and the Honorable Lords Managers of the Incorporated West India Company, residing in New Netherlands, Nicholas Stillwell, and declared to have conveyed and granted unto Lubbertus Von Dincklage, a certain piece of land lying upon the Island of Manhattan, formerly occupied by Jan Jansen Schepmoes, extending in breadth, between the two creeks, to wit: that where they cross the water over the stones, and that where the beach tree lays over the water, where George Homes is next adjoining, and with that breadth according to said creeks straight into the woods. And that, by virtue of a ground brief, dated August 29th, 1641 granted to George Baxter and Walter Hartfoot and which Baxter and Hartfoot then conveyed to Nicholas Stillwell aforesaid, which said piece of land the said Nicholas Stillwell declares in true and right ownership to convey to the said Lubbertus Von Dincklage, with all such rights and property, as he, the grantor, hath occupied and possessed in the same.”

"Wherefore he, Nicholas Stillwell, is desisting from all property, right, or pretense, which he might, or could claim to the aforesaid piece of land, promising thereof to keep this deed firm and irrevocable, according to the style and custom of laws thereto standing.

"Done the 18th day of April, 1653, at New Amsterdam in New Netherlands, in the presence of

"LA MONTAGNE,

"BRYAN NEWTON."

O'Callaghan.

Brodhead.

Albany Records.

Colonial History of N. Y.

Documentary History of N. Y.

New Amsterdam Records.

CHAPTER XIII.

1648-9.

PATENT GRANTED TO LADY MOODY AND ASSOCIATES FOR GRAVENZANDE—TOWN LAID OUT—SETTLERS, REFUGEES FROM RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION—NO LOCATION RESERVED IN THE TOWN FOR A CHURCH—NICHOLAS STILWELL PURCHASES HOUSE AND LOT IN THE TOWN, AND IN JANUARY, 1649, IS ELECTED MAGISTRATE—ADDRESS IN SUPPORT OF STUYVESANT PREPARED AND FORWARDED TO STATES GENERAL IN HOLLAND—STUYVESANT DELAYS VESSEL CARRYING COMPLAINT OF NINE MEN, THAT THE LETTER OF THE ENGLISH MAY FIRST REACH HOLLAND.

On the 19th of December, 1645, a patent was issued by the Director General and Council of New Netherlands to the Honorable Lady Deborah Moody, and Sir Henry Moody, Baronet, Ensign George Baxter, and Sergeant James Hubbard and their associates, their heirs, successors or assigns, for a certain quantity or parcel of land lying upon, or about the westernmost part of Long Island : beginning at a mouth of a creek adjoining Coney Island, bounded on the westernmost part thereof with the lands of Anthony Jansen, and Robert Pennoyer, and running as far as the most westerly part of a pond in an old Indian field ; thence easterly as far as the valley at the head of the fly or marsh, sometime of Hugh Garretson ; and bounded south by the main ocean ; with the right of putting their cattle to graze upon Coney Island ; and with full authority to build a town, with such necessary fortification as to them shall seem ex-

pedient; and to have and to enjoy full liberty of conscience according to the customs and manners of Holland, without molestation or disturbance from any magistrate or any ecclesiastical minister, who may pretend jurisdiction over them; and the right to erect a body politic, and civil combination among themselves, as free men of the Province, and of the town of Gravenzande: and to make such civil ordinances, as the major part of the inhabitants free of the town may see fit; and to nominate and appoint a Schout and Magistrates, subject to the approval and confirmation of the Governor General; and to establish courts, and to try causes without appeal not exceeding fifty guilders, with full liberty of hunting, fishing, &c., and the right to use, exercise, and carry on all manner of trade and commerce; and with all and singular the immunities and privileges already granted or hereafter to be granted to the inhabitants of the colony as if they were natives of the United Belgic Provinces.

“Always provided, that the said patentees shall faithfully acknowledge the high and mighty Lords: the States General, &c., as their superior Lords and Patroons in all loyaltie and fidelitie; and shall at the expiration of ten years from the date hereof, pay to the officers deputed to receive the same, by the Governor General for the term being, the tenth part of the revenue of all lands manured by the plough or hoe; and for grazing lands, such reasonable satisfaction in butter and cheese, as other inhabit-

ants of other towns pay in like cases." "Likewise enjoining the said patentees, in dating their public instruments to use the new style with the weights and measures of the place."

As soon as the patent was secured, a meeting was held at Amersfoort of the patentees and their associates, at which a site and plan were agreed upon for a central fortified village; and also certain regulations for the division of the lands, and the government of the settlement.

The town having been laid out by a committee appointed for the purpose, in the spring of 1646, a general assembly of the patentees and their associates was held upon the site of the village, and the plots distributed by lot.

The first entry in the Book of Minutes of the town still preserved by a descendant and namesake of Nicholas Stilwell, records the proceedings of the meeting. The date of it has been lost by the dilapidation of parts of the first leaves of the book. It recites, however, the granting of the patent, and that "it had been agreed at a meeting held at Amersfoort of the patentees and those who proposed to settle in the town of Gravenzande, that each of the proposed settlers should then presently be accommodated with a certain quantity of land within the fence that was to be erected."

That the lots on the exterior street of the town had been divided into eight and twenty equal shares or parts, and each settler was to have such share or

part as fell to him by lot, for the erection of a house. The inside lots to be reserved for any new comers who should be admitted by the owners and freemen of the town.

It also records that eight and twenty lots outside the palisades, had been disposed of by lot, and gave the distribution of the plots; but this has also been lost by the mutilation of some of the leaves by long use. It was further provided that every one should build and inhabit in the town, by a certain day agreed upon, "for their mutual strengthening of one another, for the peace with the Indians being new and rawe, there was still fear of their uprising to warre."

"And that no man should sell away his lot until such time as he had built a habitable house upon it, for otherwise he might have taken up ground only to sell to advantage, and the town never the more be populated; and that none should sell without first offering the lot to the town in general; and in case the town did not buy it, he might sell it to any one else, except to one notoriously detected for an infamous person or a disturber of the common peace."

The owner of each exterior lot was to build and keep up the fence or palisade across the head of his lot, and three persons were appointed to view the fence, and give warnings to the neighbors in case of any neglect; the party complained of to pay a fine of five guilders the first time, and six guilders

the second, and so on increasing, till the fence was made good.

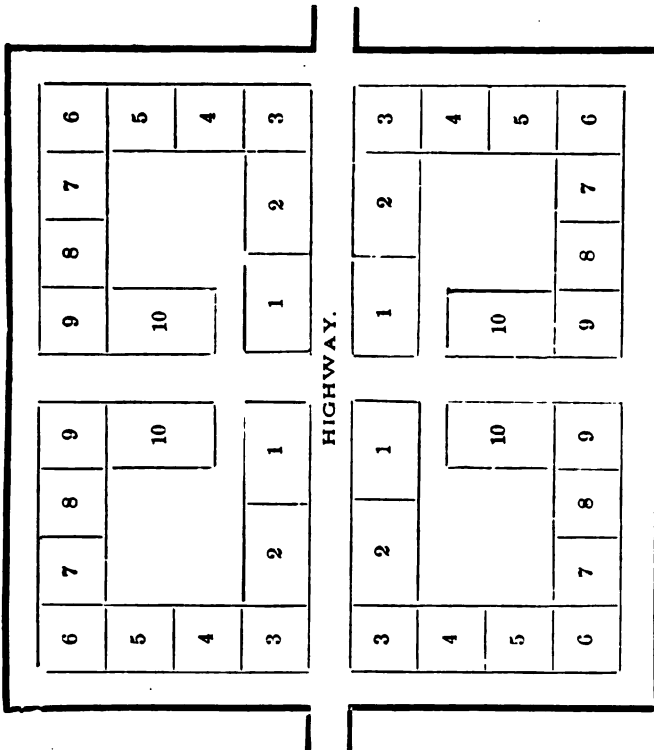
It was further ordered, that whoever should kill any foxes or wolves within the jurisdiction of the town, should have for every fox two guilders, for every wolf, three guilders, to be paid by the rest of the inhabitants.

“And houses being likely to be fired in the winter time by means of the great fires then kept, whereby the whole town might be undone, it was ordered and agreed upon, that each man should make a ladder twenty feet long, by a time fixed, or pay two guilders, and six stivers a week thereafter, until he has one;” and that each man should, at his own charge, provide complete arms, and have one pound of powder, two pounds of lead or bullets always by him, upon the penalty of paying whatever the officers of the town thought fit.

The plan of the town as agreed upon, and according to which it was built, was as follows: An exterior fence or stockade was built of palisades or half-trees, nine feet long, and standing seven feet above the ground. This inclosed the houses of the town, and outside of this, the land was laid out in narrow strips, “extending, so as to make up five and twenty morgens of land, with sufficient upland for six head of cattle and meadows proportionate.” Each settler was to have the lot outside the palisade, opposite and corresponding to the lot which he might draw upon the exterior street within the palisade.

The plan of the town is still preserved, and is as follows :

PLAN OF GRAVENZANDE.



One peculiarity of this plan is, that it provides no special place for a house of worship, or church. One lot, No. 1, in the south-east corner, was set apart for a Magistrate or Town Clerk's office, and is still occupied for that purpose. The remaining thirty-nine lots were appropriated to dwellings.

In explanation of this, it has been said that the first settlers of the town, were Quakers. But George Fox, the recognized founder of that sect, was born in 1624, and was an unheard of grazier's boy, tending his master's sheep in Leicestershire, at the time Lady Moody was being dealt with by the church at Salem, and excommunicated for denying that infant baptism was an ordinance of God.

A number of the settlers subsequently became Quakers; but at this time, they evidently had no form of religion in common. "Many of them not only rejected infant baptism, but also the institution of the Sabbath, and the office of preacher altogether, saying, 'that through them, entered all sorts of contention in the world.'"

Most of the settlers were refugees from the religious intolerance of other places, and the full liberty of conscience secured them by the patent was one of its most valued provisions. In laying out the town, therefore, it had been determined that no provision should be made for any place of public worship, nor was there any church organization, or any church building erected in the town, for upward of fifty years after its first settlement.*

Among the first orders and regulations agreed upon in general assembly of the inhabitants of the town was, that "notice should be taken of all burials and marriages, and of all that should be born in the town, and a record thereof kept." Marriages, how-

* Prime's L. L.

ever, were recognized simply as civil contracts, entered into by consent of the parties in the presence of the civil magistrates of the town. Such, however, as preferred to have them solemnized by ministers, were at liberty to do so; but when such marriages are entered in the town records, the fact is also noted, that they took place elsewhere, or were solemnized by the ministers from other towns.

As banns were required to be published before marriage in the Dutch Church, Gravenzande soon became the Gretna Green for impatient swains of New Amsterdam, and the other neighboring Dutch settlements.

In the original distribution of the town lots, Ralph Cardell who was a surveyor, and one of the committee who had laid out the town, had drawn a desirable lot upon the south side of the village, which he had agreed to sell to Richard Dunn, another of the settlers, at a premium of three hundred guilders.

When Nicholas Stilwell determined to become an inhabitant of Gravenzande, he purchased from Richard Dunn "his bargain," as it is called in the records of the town, and Ralph Cardell thereupon conveyed the lot to him.

Having thus become eligible to office, at the first "general assembly of ye inhabitants of the town" thereafter, in January, 1649, "for the choice of men according to the patent, Lieutenant Nicholas Stillwill, Ensign George Baxter, and Willam Wilkins,

were chosen magistrates for the ensuing year, and Sargeant James Hubbard was chosen to execute the place of schout."

Living, as the English of Gravenzande were, and prospering, under a patent allowing them full liberty of conscience, the right to choose their own magistrates, and to establish civil ordinances for the government of their local affairs, privileges which were not enjoyed by any of the Dutch, it is not surprising that they did not desire any change.

They had felt the tyranny of popular government in New England, and wanted none of it; so long as they were in a minority, they were satisfied with the present condition of affairs in New Netherlands, fully appreciating the danger of any change in the administration, which might result in the substitution of another adventurer like Kieft as Director General, whose rapacity might involve them in another Indian war, or who might in some manner burthen them more than Stuyvesant had done. It was therefore at once determined, that whatever influence the town possessed, should be exercised in opposing any change in the administration, or in the government; and for that purpose, as soon as it was learned that the remonstrance of the nine men was about to be forwarded to Holland, the magistrates of the town prepared an address, declaring the full confidence of the community in Governor Stuyvesant, and in the wisdom and justice of his administration, and showing that he

was in nowise responsible for the low condition of affairs in New Netherlands.

This address, which was signed by Nicholas Stilwell, George Baxter, and William Wilkins, magistrates, on behalf of the town, with a mass of other exculpatory documents, Governor Stuyvesant forwarded to Holland, by Cornelius Van Tienhoven, the secretary of the province, who was acknowledged to be one of the most cautious and sharp-witted of the Dutch colonists, whatever his other failings may have been.

In order to insure his earlier arrival in Holland, the vessel in which he sailed was sent off immediately, while that which was to convey the deputies of the commonalty with their complaint, was delayed for fourteen days afterward.

But notwithstanding this advantage, Van Tienhoven did not reach Holland until some weeks after the popular deputies had arrived, and had laid their complaint before the Government at the Hague, and after the Committee of the States General, to which the remonstrance had been referred, had already decided that there were grievances in New Netherlands which should be redressed.

Gravesend Records.

CHAPTER XIV.

1649-50.

NICHOLAS BUYS A PLANTATION IN GRAVENZANDE FOR HIS SON RICHARD—IS RE-ELECTED MAGISTRATE OF TOWN—ANOTHER ADDRESS IN SUPPORT OF STUYVESANT AGAINST COMPLAINT OF THE NINE MEN—MODIFICATIONS IN GOVERNMENT PROPOSED BY STATES GENERAL—NOT APPROVED BY DIRECTORS IN AMSTERDAM—STUYVESANT MEETS COMMISSIONERS OF UNITED COLONIES AT HARTFORD—TREATY OF 1650—DISSATISFACTION OF THE DUTCH THEREAT—PROPOSED LEAGUE AGAINST THE INDIANS—NICHOLAS STILWELL NEGOTIATES TREATY WITH LONG ISLAND INDIANS.

Nicholas Stilwell was now approaching that time of life when men, even of the most active temperament, are disposed to seek repose. His children were growing up around him, and he had at last found a haven where he could enjoy a greater measure of civil and religious liberty than had been accorded to him elsewhere, and here he concluded to fix his permanent home and raise his family. He was not ungrateful for the protection which he had received, nor for the privileges which had been accorded to him, a stranger and a foreigner, and he now determined formally to transfer his allegiance to the country of his adoption, and so far as his influence extended, to maintain therein the authority of the West India Company, under whose protection he had found shelter.

His eldest son, Richard, whom he had brought

with him to this country, an infant, was now approaching maturity, and Nicholas, desirous of establishing him in life, and of procuring him a settlement in the town, proposed to purchase for his use, the plantation of George Holmes, situated on the south side of the town.

But the ownership of land in those primitive settlements, carried with it the feudal obligation to bear arms in defense of the colony; and the community would not consent to the transfer of this farm to a boy, except upon conditions that his father should engage to keep an able-bodied man upon the place, until his son should arrive at an age to bear arms, which among the Dutch, was fixed at sixteen years.

Nicholas having agreed to do this, the consent of the town was given to the purchase, and it was consummated on the 16th of October, 1649—the town record of that date reciting—that “Lieftenant Nicholas Stilwell bargained and agreed with George Homes for his whole plantation, for ye use of his sonne Richard Stilwell; ye said Lieftenant Stilwell has to paye for yt unto ye sd George Homes, ye summe of Nine hundred weight of good merchantable tobacco in leaf. One hundred weight to be paid yt present, and ye other eight hundred weight to be paid at Christmas tyme twelve months, which will be in ye year 1650.

“Ye said Lieftenant Stilwell being to have all ye crops upon ye land, also ye housings, houses, ye

garden, and all other privileges and appurtenances any wise appertaining or belonging thereto.

"For ye said summe of tobacco, as above specified, Ye said George Homes is to bring him one freight of goods from ye fort in his boat to ye plantation aforesaid.

"Ye said George Homes has in his agreement excepted one bed'd parsnipps.

"Ye said Lieftenant Nicholas Stillwell bath promised upon ye purchase of the plantation for his sonne, to place a sufficient able bodied man upon it, to keep it distinctly by itself, according to ye order of the town."

An entry on the margin recites, "That Lieft. Stillwell had paid William Golding by George Homes his appartment the eight hundred weight of tobacco Nov. 22d, 1650, as expressed, and George Homes is satisfied therewith."

This farm, which is situated upon what is now known as the Coney Island road, still remains in the family; being now owned and occupied by C. J. Striker, who inherited it from his mother who was a sister of Richard Stilwell, from whom she derived it, he having died a bachelor. This Richard was a lineal descendant of Richard Stilwell, the son of Nicholas, the first of the name.

At the next election, held in January, 1650, the same persons were re-elected magistrates of the town for the ensuing year, and, the complications in which Governor Stuyvesant had become involved

with the States General, through the complaints of the nine men, soon called upon them again to interpose their influence to sustain his administration against the attacks of the popular representatives.

The committee of the States General, to whom their complaints, as well as the exculpatory documents forwarded by Stuyvesant had been referred, after hearing the delegates of the nine men in support of their complaints, and Van Tienhoven in behalf of Governor Stuyvesant, had submitted the draft of a provisional order, making important modifications in the Government of New Netherlands, which they recommended that the States General should enact with the advice and consent of the West India Company. But in order to give validity to the act of the States General, it was necessary that a majority of the Directors of all the several chambers of which the company was composed should assent to it.

This order provided that in future no war should be waged by the colony, without the knowledge of the States General. That the trade with the Indians for fire-arms should be abolished. That all the inhabitants should be armed and enrolled as militia and the fort repaired in such a manner as to afford protection. That schools should be maintained. That the commonalty should be convened and induced to consent to the imposition of taxes and duties, upon the collection and expenditure of the

same being placed upon a satisfactory footing. That a court of justice should be erected, and a Burgher Government, consisting of a Schout, two Burgomasters, and five Schepens, should be established in the City of New Amsterdam. That the authority of the nine men should be extended for three years longer, and lastly—though not least to his friends here—that Stuyvesant should be instructed to return to Holland and report.

But the Directors of the chamber of Amsterdam, to whom had been specially delegated the control of the affairs of New Netherlands, did not consent to this order, but opposed it; and it was therefore referred back to the committee of the States General. A copy of it was however forwarded by the Directors to Stuyvesant for his advice, and—"to show him how full of danger it was to irritate a furious multitude."

Two of the three Deputies who had proceeded to Holland with this remonstrance, having procured from the States General an order forbidding Stuyvesant to molest them, returned to New Amsterdam in June, 1650, bringing with them an authenticated copy of this provisional order, and although it was not legally operative, not having received the concurrence of the Directors of the Amsterdam chamber of the West India Company, the nine men insisted that it should be promulgated and acted upon, by the Director General; which the latter of course refused to do.

The Commonalty having, however, learned from the nine men that the States General had taken measures to remedy some of the grievances complained of, and had ordered the Director home, but that Stuyvesant had refused to recognize the order, popular feeling was greatly excited against him, and the authority of his Government endangered.

The Director General in his turn now complained to the States General, that these two popular Delegates, sheltered under their letter of protection, were endeavoring to alienate the people from their allegiance, and to dispossess the Company and its officers.

In this crisis, on the 20th of August, 1650, the magistrates of Gravenzande again came forward with an address to the Directors at Amsterdam, expressing the grateful acknowledgments of the inhabitants of that town for the many benefits which they had received and still enjoyed under the authority of the West India Company, who were the lawful proprietors of the place, and their desire to remain without any change, residing under the Government of the Company and of the Director General authorized by them, and to evince their submission and fidelity to the Company on all occasions.

"We shall consider ourselves," say the magistrates—"unworthy to enjoy the benefits and freedoms kindly granted us by your honors Governors. should we, in the least, desire or endeavor

to abridge your rights. We are therefore sorely grieved at the false reports spread by the Delegates, who came back from Holland on the Valkener, and which have given birth to manifold strifes, schisms, factions, and internal tumults, not respecting the Government, but trampling it under foot."

"The remedy for these inconveniences, we humbly conceive will be found in maintaining and upholding our present governor against all malignant persons, our superiors in Holland paying no attention to the reports of disaffected persons. We who have been entrusted with the government of the public affairs of this place, have had such experience of his affection for the general welfare of this place, and of his carefulness over us in the execution of the public service committed to him, that we are anxious that he be still continued, so that we may live under his Government."

This letter signed by Nicholas Stilwell and the other magistrates of Gravenzande was forwarded to the directors at Amsterdam, and by them laid before the States General, with a further brief statement in defense of the company, its management and its officers, which had been prepared for the purpose, by Van Tienhoven, the secretary of the Province.

This latter document closed by giving a short description of the private characters of the nine men who had signed the original remonstrance not more

complimentary to them, than had been their reference to the character of Van Tienhoven, in the remonstrance.

While affairs were in this position, Stuyvesant set out on a mission which he had long contemplated, of a meeting with the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, at Hartford, for the purpose of settling the boundaries between the Dutch and the English, procuring the repeal of the retaliatory acts in regard to trade, and arranging the other matters in difference between them.

George Baxter, his English secretary, accompanied him, and a large suite. Upon their arrival at Hartford, negotiations were opened in writing, and after considerable correspondence, it was agreed that all differences between them should be referred for adjustment to four Delegates or arbitrators; two, to be named by each party.

Simon Bradstreet, of Boston, and Thomas Prince, of Plymouth, having been chosen on the part of the New England Colonies, Stuyvesant, on his part, also appointed two Englishmen, Capt. Thomas Willet and George Baxter.

The selection of two foreigners to represent the Dutch in so important a matter, was resented by the latter as an affront—a direct insult by Stuyvesant to his countrymen. And when upon the rendition of their award the next day, it was found that these English Delegates, chosen to protect the interest of the Dutch, had yielded everything to the

English, and in fixing the boundaries, had surrendered to the latter, all of Long Island east of Oyster Bay, there was universal dissatisfaction among the Dutch, which was made the subject of another complaint against the Director, and forwarded to Holland.

One of the chief ends sought to be attained by Stuyvesant by this meeting, had been the formation of an alliance between the Dutch and the English Colonies against the savages. In this, however, he was unsuccessful, although he remained two weeks after the general negotiations had closed, with a view to its accomplishment.

Since the first troubles with the Indians, in Director Kieft's time, the colonists had been divided in opinion as to the proper policy to be pursued by the whites, in their intercourse with their savage neighbors; one party claiming that they should be treated as wild beasts and controlled only by their fears, and if possible exterminated; but another, and the larger portion of the community, counseled a policy of conciliation and kindness.

Van Tienhoven had been a leader in the exterminating class, and George Baxter, his associate, had sided with him. Stuyvesant however had been instructed to make use of pacific measures, as far as possible, in his intercourse with the savages, and to endeavor to gain their confidence, and control them as children. This course accorded with the disposition, as well as with the judgment of the Director

General, and this attempt to form a league against them, was doubtless the suggestion of his bloody-minded Secretaries, Van Tienhoven and Baxter, who were less solicitous for the safety of the colonists, than for an opportunity of exterminating the savages, whenever the encroachments or barbarities of the whites should drive them into armed resistance.

But while George Baxter, one of the magistrates of Gravenzande, had been thus endeavoring to secure protection against the Indians, by a league of the whites against them, his colleagues in the magistracy of that town, had been, there, seeking the same end, by a different means.

Nicholas Stilwell had been negotiating with the neighboring Indians to bring about an amicable and satisfactory adjustment of all their causes of complaint, and particularly to satisfy all claims which the savages fancied they had to the lands within the bounds of the town, and covered by the Patent.

The Indian title to these lands had, long before been extinguished in the usual manner by Governor Kieft, who had purchased the same for the company, before the original location, thereon, of Lady Moody and her associates. But the Indians had since learned that land had an actual value, of which they had before been ignorant, and believing that they had been overreached in the transaction, were not satisfied. In their various contests with the natives, the whites had shown their ability to maintain their titles by force, but

the experience of Nicholas Stilwell had taught him that the reputation of being their friend, and of always dealing justly with them, was a better protection against the Indians than arms or palisades.

He had learned from Roger Williams, how, protected only by his reputation as a just man, and a friend to the savages, he passed safely among them, even when they were most exasperated and frenzied by the encroachment of the whites; how, when the bold and warlike Pequots were endeavoring to bring about a league with Canonicus, and Miantonomah, for the extermination of the whites, Roger Williams alone, in his canoe, had hastened among them, and for three days and nights had moved safely among the Pequot ambassadors, even while endeavoring to thwart their projects.

And in the war of 1643, when the Long Island Sachems hesitated to come to the fort, even to treat for peace with Kieft, he had seen, how, relying upon the word of one good man, David Pieterse de Vries, who, as the savages said, had never deceived them, they had freely trusted themselves in the power of those whom they considered as their treacherous enemies.

Satisfied of the true policy to be pursued to insure a permanent peace, he invited the chiefs and principal men of the neighboring tribes to attend a general meeting of the inhabitants of the town, and there in open assembly they were informed by Nich-

olas that the new Director General desired to do them justice; and that the English of Gravenzande who held their lands under him, wished to remove all causes of complaint and dissatisfaction, and to live with the Indians as good neighbors and friends.

The severe punishment which the Indians had received in their attack upon Gravenzande, in 1643, had made the name of Lient. Stilwell, well known among them as a soldier, and now, when he approached them in the character of a friend, and, as a mediator between them and the Dutch, offered to procure redress for all their fancied wrongs, there was no room for suspicion that his action was influenced by fear, or by any other consideration than his sense of justice and his friendly disposition toward them.

All their claims to the lands within the bounds of the town were then considered and fairly purchased, and the price agreed upon, paid to the savages upon the spot, who acknowledged full satisfaction therefor, and executed a release of all their rights and claims. This instrument, which is still preserved among the records of the town is as follows:

“Know all men whom these presents may in any wise concern, Wee, Johosietum, Airemakamus, Aera-marka and Assanched, Sachems, and ye right and true proprietors of the lands, called by ye Indians, Massabarkem, now possessed by ye English, and formerly purchased and paid for, to ye then right

proprietors, ye Cippolinius, doe hereby acknowledge and declare yt for and in consideration of two gunns, fifteen Ells of cloth, three fathoms of wampum-peage, one kettle, two hatchetts, two hoes, three knives, one long cloth coat, one pair of scissors, two combs, one sword and thirty blankets, all received, paid and delivered unto us by the new Governor General Petrus Stuyvesant, do by virtue hereof absolutely, sell, assign, and make over, all ye said lands, called Massabarkem, for us, our heirs, executors, administrators and assigns forever; Unto ye Right Honorable, ye Lords bewient hebers of ye West India Company, of ye chamber of Amsterdam, and their assigns, for them and their assignees, ye English, now inhabitants of Gravenzande, to enjoy and possess as their own free land of inheritance, to dispose of, as to them shall seem expedient."

The Sachems signed this deed by their respective marks, and an entry in the books of the town, recites, that "at a Court held at Gravenzande on the first day of November, 1650, the said Indians in open Court acknowledged the said sale in presence of the Court and their neighbors, who signed as witnesses thereto, likewise some Indians;" which is certified by Nicholas Stilwell, and the other magistrates of the town.

The high estimation in which Nicholas Stilwell was held among his neighbors, is also apparent from the frequency with which he appears to have

been chosen as arbitrator to decide differences between the settlers.

The awards, which appear generally to have been in favor of both parties, are usually entered at large upon the records of the town, in the following form :

"1650, March 5th. Whereas, a certain difference being between Thomas Cornell, and ye Lady Moody, about a piece of ground, ye said Thomas Cornell broke up ; and it being by the consent of both parties, put to ye judgment and arbitration of Nicholas Stilwell, Thomas Goodyear, Francis Weeks, and Richard Gibbons. All of us having agreed to issue the thing according to equity and rite, do therefore judge and award: yt the said Cornell sh'd possess and employ ye said quantity of new land for ye incoming crop—afterwards, ye said Lady Moody shall pay him fifteen guilders in money, att ye surrender up of ye ground at that time.

"This being our arbitration, and award and joint judgment: Witnesseth our hands here subscribed, ye day and year aforesaid."

Holland Documents, Col. Hist. of N. Y.
Gravesend Records.
Dutch Records, Albany.

CHAPTER XV.

1651-2.

DIRECTORS IN HOLLAND COMPLIMENT THE MAGISTRATES OF GRAVENZANDE AND ENCOURAGE THEM TO ASK FAVORS—THEY ASK PRIVILEGE OF EXCLUSIVE TRADE FROM HOLLAND—IMPORTATION OF LABORERS—ASK COMPANY TO SEND THEM NEGROES—PROJECTS DEFEATED BY BREAKING OUT OF WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND AND HOLLAND—MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT GRANTED TO NEW AMSTERDAM—STUYVESANT CAUTIONED AGAINST EMPLOYING DISLOYAL PERSONS—DIRECTED TO ENGAGE THE INDIANS IN THE WAR IF NECESSARY—SCHEME OF BAXTER AND OTHERS OF GRAVENZANDE TO THROW OFF THEIR ALLEGIANCE AND ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT COLONY UNDER PROTECTION OF CONNECTICUT—BAXTER DISMISSED FROM OFFICE.

The two addresses which the Magistrates of Gravenzande had forwarded to Holland in defense of the administration of Governor Stuyvesant, had not only been influential in determining the Directors of the West India Company to sustain their Governor against the complaints of the nine men, but they had also been of service to the Directors themselves, in enabling them to oppose the sweeping measures advocated before the States General by the popular delegates, who had presented the remonstrance of the nine men.

In recognition of these services, on the 21st of March, 1651, the Directors of the Company at Amsterdam, forwarded to Governor Stuyvesant, a complimentary letter addressed to the English at Gravenzande, acknowledging the satisfaction with

which these timely communications had been received, and declaring the determination of the Directors to sustain Governor Stuyvesant, and an assurance, that they were not only willing to hear, and redress all just grievances in the province, but that they would specially maintain the people of Gravenzande in all the privileges granted them by their patent; and authorized the latter, on all future occasions, to "apply directly to the company, as their Lords and Patroons, for the improvement of whatever they should consider out of order, or to obtain any further just privileges."

The dissatisfaction of the Dutch, at the proceedings of Governor Stuyvesant, in nominating two Englishmen to represent the interests of his countrymen, in the conference at Hartford, had found expression in another formal remonstrance forwarded to the Directors at Amsterdam, complaining that "Stuyvesant had not only surrendered to the English more territory than might have founded fifty colonies, but that he had ceased to consult those of his own nation in public affairs, and had taken only foreigners into his confidence."

The Magistrates of Gravenzande had no sooner heard of this new complaint, than they again stepped forward in defense of their patron, and on the 14th of September, 1651, addressed another letter to the Directors at Amsterdam, expressing their great satisfaction that the company "had sifted the truth in regard to the actual government, and had resolved

to support and maintain its own authority, and the administration of Governor Stuyvesant.

"We clearly acknowledge," said they, "that the frequent changing a Government, or the power of electing a Governor among ourselves, which we understand is the aim of some among us, would be our ruin and destruction, by reason of our factions and various opinions; many, among us, being unwilling to subject themselves to any sort of Government, mild or strong.

"It must, on that account, be compulsory or by force, until the Governor's authority be well confirmed; for such persons will not only scorn and disobey all authority, and by their evil example drag other persons along, whereby the laws would be powerless, but every one would desire to do what would please and gratify himself. In fine, the strongest would swallow up the weakest, and by means of elections and choosing, we would be involved in like inconveniences.

"It is not with us, as in Holland, or in Kingdoms, or Republics, which are established and settled by long and well experienced laws and fundamentals, best agreeing with the condition of the people; but in our own little body, made up of divers members, and of people of divers nations, many things occur in the laying of a foundation, for which there are no rules or examples, but which must be fixed at the discretion of a well experienced Governor.

"Seeing therefore that we have nothing to com-

plain against our present Governor, but on the contrary, approving his public deportment in his administration, we request that he may still be continued over us, and that no change be made."

The settlers of Gravenzande, still had faith in the destiny of the town, to become the commercial capital of the province, and to supersede New Amsterdam in that respect; and the Directors of the Company, having encouraged them to make direct application for any further just privileges for the welfare of the Province, this was considered a favorable opportunity of initiating measures which might tend to its commercial advantage.

The magistrates of the town therefore took occasion, in this letter, to submit to the Directors, two propositions, "which, if carried out, it was believed would avail considerably to the strengthening of the Country, and to the Company's profit.

"First: Considering the impositions of the traders, and the little strength added to the security and increase of the Province, by the shipping belonging to that class of men, inasmuch as they come and go solely for their individual profit and advantage—by the advice and approbation of our Governor and others, we have bethought ourselves of chartering some ships in Holland, for the benefit of this Country, to bring over what we stand in need of, viz.: farmers and laborers, which we mostly lack, provided your Honors will consent and permit these ships, *and none others* to trade here.

"In case your Honors will consent, for a certain time, that our agents may hire and engage servant men in Holland, to be distributed here, at the pleasure of the Governor and Council, the masters paying 50 per cent. of the expense of the passage and outfit, besides the wages agreed upon in Holland, this country will be able to absorb yearly, five or six hundred, whereby it will be greatly strengthened, and your revenues increased."

Second: "We request your Honors to expend in Negroes or blacks, whatever means you, in your wisdom shall deem prudent, for your Honors can best do that, in consequence of your interest in this place, on condition of our paying you for the same, whatever price you will order.

"We humbly conceive that your Honors will thereby have double profits; first, from what we shall pay for the Negroes, and secondly, from the tenths."

This letter, instead of being signed as usual by the Magistrates of the town, bore the signatures of Nicholas Stilwell, George Baxter, and William Wilkins and three others, representing the PEOPLE of Gravenzande—and their grateful recognition of the kindness of the company to them, found expression in the address of the letter, which was—"To the Honorable, our special good Lords and Protectors, the Lord Directors of the West India Company at Amsterdam."

But the war, which had been for some time brew-

ing, between the commonwealth of England and the States General of Holland, and which at last broke out, in May, 1652, in the great naval battle in the Straits of Dover, between a Dutch fleet, under Admiral Tromp, and the English, under Admiral Blake, settled, at once, the question of Stuyvesant's retention as Governor of New Netherlands; for whatever complaints had been made of his civil administration, there was no doubt that he was a brave and experienced soldier; and in the present aspect of affairs, his services were indispensable, not only to the Company, but to the States General.

To allay the dissatisfaction of the people of New Amsterdam, the Directors of the company now made some concessions in their favor in regard to taxation and trade, and also granted them a charter for a municipal government, to consist of a Schout, two Burgomasters and five Schepens: to be selected in the manner usual in the City of Amsterdam, in Holland; to act also as a Court of Justice, with the right of appeal, in certain cases, to the Supreme Court. The establishment of a public school was also assented to, and the City tavern appropriated for the purpose of a school house.

Stuyvesant, at the same time, received an ample supply of ammunition, and was instructed to take immediate steps to place the province in a condition of defense; and while maintaining his good relations with the neighboring English colonies, he was directed to keep a careful watch upon the

English inhabitants, and not to be deceived through their sinister machinations, and "to employ no person in the public service, civil or military, of whose loyalty and devotion to the fatherland he was not assured," and "if it should happen that the people of New England were inclined to take part in the broils of the mother countries, and injure the Dutch," Stuyvesant was advised to engage the Indians in his cause, who, as the Directors had been informed, were not partial to the English.

The situation in which Nicholas now found himself placed, was particularly embarrassing. Although his colleagues in the magistracy of Gravenzande, George Baxter and William Wilkins, as well as James Hubbard, the schout or sheriff, had sworn allegiance to the Dutch Government, it was evident that their sympathies were now with their own countrymen; and in case hostilities should break out between the English colonies and the Dutch, there was little doubt that they would be found enlisted against their adopted country, and would probably carry the majority of the people of the town with them.

Nicholas Stilwell, however, had long since renounced his allegiance to England, had married among the Dutch, and having a family of four children brought up among them, had definitely determined to unite his fortunes with that nation, and with the company to which he was indebted for shelter and protection. Stuyvesant, therefore, naturally

looked to him, as his Lieutenant, to retain the settlement in its allegiance.

The population of the neighboring English colonies, was so greatly in excess of that of the Dutch, that in case of any hostile intentions on the part of the former, or even of a revolt of the settlers of that nationality against their adopted country, there seemed little prospect of the Dutch being able to sustain their authority in the town by force of arms.

But it was hoped that the English of Gravenzande would find it to their interest to continue under a jurisdiction in which they had been so highly favored. The privileges secured to them by their patent were greater than were allowed to any of the Dutch, and equal to those enjoyed by any of their English neighbors; but the time was now approaching, when they would be called upon to pay for the privileges they had enjoyed; for, by the terms of their patent, they were to hold their lands, free of rent or taxes, for ten years, but after the expiration of that time, they were to pay the company one-tenth of their production, by way of rent or return for the lands granted to and occupied by them. A release from this debt, was all that could be gained by a change of government.

The only restriction which had existed upon the privileges of choosing their own Magistrates, had been the right reserved by the Director General to approve of the nominations made by them. While the communalty in New Amsterdam had been clam-

orous for even the slightest voice in the Administration of their own affairs, which had been strenuously opposed by Stuyvesant, and in which opposition the people of Gravenzande had so effectually aided him, the English of the latter town had quietly assumed and exercised the right of electing their own magistrates in their own way, irrespective of the provisions of their patent.

Soon after the return of George Baxter from the conference with the commissioners of the United Colonies at Hartford, in 1650, it became evident that he, with some of the other prominent settlers of Gravenzande, had concocted a scheme to throw off their allegiance to the West India Company, and form an independent colony, under the protection of Connecticut. With a view to facilitate this change, it had been proposed that instead of electing three magistrates for the town, for the ensuing year, one only should be chosen, who should select a second, these two, a third, and in this manner six persons were to be chosen, three of whom were to be Magistrates for the first year, and the other three to act as assistants when required, and to succeed to the Magistracy the following year, unless the town objected, "one sett, the other alternately succeeding," and if any of the six should die or leave the town, the remainder of them should fill the vacancy, "as is the custom and manner of the moste wisest corporations to go on."

At the general assembly of the inhabitants, on the

9th of January, 1651, a resolution to adopt that mode of selecting their Magistrates was agreed to, and six persons were chosen accordingly; but Baxter, who had counted upon being chosen as the first man, had over-estimated his popularity in the town, and the same persons who had held the office of Magistrate for several years previously, were, under the new system, chosen again, with three others. When their names were presented to the director for confirmation, Baxter, although the author of the innovation, took occasion to call the attention of the Director General to it, and requested him not to confirm the nominations; but he was again disappointed, and when the letter of September 14th, 1651, hereinbefore referred to, signed by these six persons, as representatives of the town, was received by Stuyvesant and forwarded to the Directors at Amsterdam, as the voice of the town, the innovation received a *quasi* official recognition.

The chief obstacle to the consummation of Baxter's project of forming an independent colony, had been the flattering prospects which had been held out to the inhabitants of Gravenzande, in the letter which the Directors of the company had addressed them from Amsterdam, on the 21st of March, 1651, upon which the settlers had built hopes of obtaining a grant for the special commercial privileges for which they had applied; and which would doubtless have resulted in making Gravenzande the chief city of the province.

But the breaking out of the war between the mother countries, and the jealousy of English influence, which had been aggravated by Stuyvesant's imprudent choice of arbitrators at Hartford, in 1650, destroyed all hopes of the people of Gravenzande of receiving from the company, any special privileges, and also put an end to the influence of George Baxter, whose services as English Secretary were now dispensed with.

At the same time, the energetic measures adopted by Stuyvesant, showing his determination to make a stubborn defense of the possession of the company in New Netherlands, rendered hopeless, any projects entertained by the disaffected English of Gravenzande, of transferring the allegiance of the town to Connecticut, without a trial of strength in war.

Holland Documents, Col. Hist. N. Y.
Gravesend Records.
New Amsterdam Records.

CHAPTER XVI.

1653.

STUYVESANT PROPOSES NEUTRALITY BETWEEN NEW NETHERLANDS AND NEW ENGLAND, AND VIRGINIA—NO RESPONSE RECEIVED—STUYVESANT PREPARES TO DEFEND THE PROVINCE—CITY GOVERNMENT CALLED TOGETHER AND COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO FORTIFY IT—BARGAINING FOR THE LOGS FOR PALISADES—PRICE ASKED TOO HIGH, AND COMMITTEE WILL NOT PAY IT—MATTER REFERRED TO STUYVESANT—HE BUILDS PALISADES AND A BREASTWORK—PEOPLE OF GRAVENZANDE UNDERTAKE TO DEFEND THEMSELVES—NICHOLAS NEGOCIATES WITH THE INDIANS FOR ASSISTANCE, IF NECESSARY—NINIGRET REPORTS THAT STUYVESANT IS PLOTTING WITH SAVAGES TO CUT OFF THE ENGLISH—COMMISSIONERS OF UNITED COLONIES TAKE ACTION UPON REPORTS—GEORGE BAXTER AND CAPTAIN UNDERHILL EXCITE INSURRECTION IN ENGLISH VILLAGES.

Upon receiving the first news of the commencement of hostilities between England and Holland, Stuyvesant had written to the Governments of New England and Virginia, proposing a continuance of the friendly relations and intercourse between them, notwithstanding the war between the mother countries; but no definite response had been received; and soon afterwards, learning through Isaac Allerton, that the New England Colonies were making warlike preparations, although it was uncertain whether for offensive or defensive war, the Director called together the newly constituted municipal Government of New Amsterdam, and in consultation

with them, proceeded to make preparations to defend the Province.

As the danger of an attack was supposed to be imminent, it was at once resolved by the Burgomasters and Schepens—

1st. "That all the burghers of the city should in a body keep watch every night, at such places as should be determined by the Director and Council, and in the first place, in the city tavern."

2d. "That the fort should be repaired and made sufficiently strong, and as all the population could not find shelter within its walls, in order to protect them, and their houses, and habitations, that the city should be inclosed with palisades, and a small breastwork erected, so that in case of necessity all the inhabitants might retire therein, and as far as practicable, defend themselves and their property from attack."

3d. "It being considered impossible at the same time to enclose and fortify the outside villages, where the inhabitants lived scattered and apart from each other, it was judged most expedient to collect all the strength of New Netherlands upon Manhattan Island, so as to make a better defense in one place."

Commissioners were thereupon appointed to provide for the construction of the proposed fortification for the protection of the city. But even the imminent danger which threatened them could not overcome the parsimony of the newly fledged city

fathers, who would have left the city defenseless, rather than pay too high a price for the timber required for the palisades to defend it.

A week was consumed in bargaining for the logs, at the expiration of which time, on the 18th of March, 1653, a meeting of the Burgomasters and Schepens was called at the City Hall; when the honorable, the commissioners appointed to take charge of the works for the defense of the city, reported that "they had advertised for proposals to furnish the palisades and put them up, but had found no one disposed to undertake the work at a reasonable price. They had offered 25 guilders a rod for the work, but Thomas Baxter, and Thomas Lenderson, who were the lowest bidders, demanded forty-five guilders a rod, which would amount to a large sum of money, and the commissioners had therefore provisionally suspended the work."

They further reported "that after consultation they considered it more profitable and advantageous to set off the palisades with planks, instead of half trees spilt for the purpose, as had been proposed; but having ascertained that this would cost between 3,000 and 4,000 guilders, they had referred it to his Honor, the Director General, to know what was to be done."

Stuyvesant disposed of the matter, in his usual summary manner, by ordering a line of fortifications to be erected at once, across the Island, from the East to the North River, along the present line of

Wall street where the old stockade had been built, in 1644, and a contract was immediately made with Thomas Baxter, to provide palisades, twelve feet in length and seven inches in diameter in the middle, and pointed on the end. These were to be set three feet in the ground, and planked up on the outside, and every inhabitant of the city, without exception, was required to work upon the fortifications until they were completed.

A sodded breast-work, four feet high, was thrown up against the palisades, with a breadth of four feet at the bottom, and three feet at the top, forming a platform upon which the defenders could stand and overlook the stockade. Two feet and a half behind this, was a ditch three feet wide and two feet deep. The palisade was also continued along the shore of the East River to the fort.

Gravenzande being already fortified, the inhabitants were permitted to remain and defend their possessions, with such assistance as they could obtain from the neighboring Indians, with whom they lived on the best of terms.

Nicholas Stilwell, John Tilton, and the others of the English settlers of the town who subsequently developed into Quakers, had already acquired considerable influence over the savages, by whom they were recognized as friends upon whom the Indians could depend for protection against the imposition of the whites: and Stuyvesant now availed himself of their influence, not only to maintain the friendly

relations then existing with the neighboring tribes, but to engage their assistance to the Dutch, "in case the latter should be attacked by the English colonies."

Ninigret, one of the sachems of the Narragansetts, who had spent the winter at the Mannhattans "to be cured of a disease," visiting his friends at Gravenzande, and at the neighboring hamlet at Nyack, heard of these negotiations, in behalf of Stuyvesant, with the Indians of those parts, and upon his return home spoke of them to the other sachems of his neighborhood; and the rumors reaching Uncas, the Mohegan ally of the English, the latter reported to Governor Haynes of Connecticut, that Stuyvesant was plotting with the Narragansetts to cut off all the English.

A meeting of the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England had been called, to be held at Boston on the 21st of May, 1653, to consider their relations with the Dutch; but upon these startling rumors reaching them, an extraordinary meeting was called for the 23d day of April, to consider what steps it was necessary to take to secure the common safety under these circumstances.

As soon as Stuyvesant heard of these charges against him, of plotting with the Indians, he wrote to the Governors of New Haven and Massachusetts, denying the imputation, and offering to come or send to clear himself, and desiring that some person

might be sent to New Amsterdam to investigate the matter.

Four days before the time fixed for the meeting of the commissioners of the United Colonies, the General Court of Massachusetts sent two messengers to interrogate the Narragansett sachems as to the truth of the rumors. The testimony of Ninigret and the other chiefs clearly disproved the existence of any such plot; but at the meeting of the commissioners, New Haven and Connecticut being still in doubt, three persons were delegated to visit New Netherlands and take evidence on the subject. They were furnished with a letter to Stuyvesant and a commission, and full instructions as to their duties in taking testimony.

Upon the arrival of these delegates in New Netherlands with their commission, the Director General and Council, proposed that three additional commissioners should be named on behalf of New Netherlands, men, who understood the Dutch and English, as well as the Indian tongue, to be present at the taking of the testimony; and that any witnesses produced, should be cross-examined by the Dutch Commissioners, according to the laws of New Netherlands.

But the English delegates imagining apparently that they had been sent as judges to try Stuyvesant and his council upon the charges, declined to admit this accession to their number; and suddenly remembering that an election was to take place at

Boston in the following week, at which they desired to attend, they left abruptly for that place; but delayed at Flushing and Stamford long enough to take the depositions of several Indians and others, and to collect all the floating reports of the intrigues of the Dutch with the Indians.

Immediately upon the departure of the delegates, Stuyvesant wrote to the commissioners of the United Colonies, declaring that "there had never been any appearance of truth in the charges of conspiracy." That "what your worships lay to our charge, are false reports and feigned informations. Your honored messengers might, if they had pleased, have informed themselves fully of the truth of the matter, if they had inquired at Gravenzande or Nyack, and might also have obtained friendly satisfaction, concerning our real intentions, if they had pleased to have stayed a day or two, or three, with us."

The refusal of the Director General and Council of New Netherlands to defend the inhabitants of the villages on Long Island in their settlements, and requiring them, in case of danger, to remove for protection to Manhattan Island, had greatly increased the discontent among the English towns on the west end of Long Island; and the grave action taken by the New England authorities, upon the faith of the rumors of plots between the Dutch and the Indians, and the hostile attitude assumed by New Haven and Connect-

icut, in consequence of them, now gave Baxter, and the other discontented English, hopes of receiving countenance and assistance in that quarter, in their traitorous designs of throwing off their allegiance to the Dutch.

Pretending therefore, to believe in the reality of the plot, and that a general massacre was intended, in which even the inhabitants of the English towns under the jurisdiction of the Dutch were to be included, they sent messengers to the adjoining villages to apprise the people of the latter, of this new danger which threatened them; and inviting them, as the authorities of New Netherlands had declined to protect them in their settlements, to unite in an application to the United Colonies of New England for protection and assistance.

By these means, the dissatisfaction of the people of Gravenzande, soon extended to the adjoining towns. Captain John Underhill, of Flushing, who had been one of the most active in circulating the reports of the pretended plot, was arrested and taken to New Amsterdam, but soon released without a trial, and returning to Long Island, furious at the indignity to which he had been subjected, issued an inflammatory address, calling upon all the English settlers "to abjure the iniquitous Government of Petrus Stuyvesant over the people of Long Island, and to submit to the Parliament of England."

As soon as the news of his operations reached New Amsterdam, Underhill was ordered to quit the Province, which he did, and repairing to Hartford, presented himself to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, then in session, and offered his services "to vindicate the rights of the English nation."

The delegates who had been sent to take testimony in New Netherlands in regard to the plot, upon their return, laid before the Commissioners of the United Colonies the reports which they had picked up at Flushing and Stamford in regard to Stuyvesant's negotiations with the Indians, and at the same time submitted the application of the disaffected English of the towns on the west end of Long Island, asking for protection and assistance in their scheme of throwing off their allegiance to the Dutch.

New Haven and Connecticut were in favor of taking up arms against the Dutch, but the delegates of Massachusetts declared that they did not see sufficient grounds to justify this course, and refused to join in it. The Dutch, with such Indian allies as they could count upon, were more than a match for New Haven and Connecticut, even if Plymouth Colony should join them, so long as Massachusetts remained neutral. In view of this fact, Stuyvesant had always made it a point to maintain friendly relations with the latter colony, and to encourage trade between Boston and New Amsterdam, and had kept up a constant correspondence

with the Governors of Massachusetts, whose faith in Stuyvesant's honesty and piety, as well as his bravery, was not easily shaken.

After deliberation, Plymouth also falling in with New Haven and Connecticut, six of the eight commissioners voted for immediate war, but the General Court of Massachusetts resolved "that no determination of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, though they should all agree, should bind this colony to join in an offensive war, which should appear to this general court to be unjust." The commissioners were therefore obliged to content themselves with a message to Stuyvesant, reiterating their charges, and demanding satisfaction and security.

Captain Underhill's offer of his services having been declined by the commissioners of the United Colonies, he repaired to Rhode Island, where his proposals were received with more favor. The general assembly of that colony, having shortly before, received authority from the Parliament "to defend themselves against the Dutch, the enemies of the Commonwealth of England, and also to offend them," granted a commission to Captain John Underhill, and Captain William Dyer, reciting—"that by true information and great complaint of the servile condition to which many of their countrymen, English natives living on Long Island, are subjected by the cruel tyranny of the Dutch power at the

Manhattoes, by the bloody plotting of the Governor and fiscal there, who are declared to have drawn in and engaged the Indians by bribes and promises to cut off and destroy the English natives in these parts; they therefore authorized Captain William Dyer, and Captain John Underhill, to wage war against the Dutch by land and sea. Dyer to be Commander-in-chief by sea, and Captain Underhill to be Commander-in-chief upon land; yet to join in council, and assist each other for propagating the service, for the honor of the Commonwealth of England; provided, however, that all vessels taken be brought into the harbor of Newport, according to law, to be there tried, and the state's part secured. And provided also, that Underhill and Dyer render an account to the Rhode Island authorities of their proceedings."

Armed with this commission, Captain Underhill organized a force of adventurers, and patrolled Long Island for the avowed purpose of maintaining the authority of the Commonwealth of England, but evidently for the purpose of private plunder. Captain William Dyer, Thomas Baxter, and other disaffected English, also under the authority of the Rhode Island Commission, prowled around the shores of the Sound in armed yachts, committing depredations indiscriminately on Dutch and English property.

New Amsterdam Records—Hazard—O'Callaghan—Brodhead.

CHAPTER XVII.

1653-4.

MEETING OF DELEGATES TO DEVISE MEASURES TO ARREST ROBBERIES AND PIRACIES—BAXTER AND HUBBARD PROPOSE THAT PEOPLE SHALL PAY NO MORE TAXES—REMONSTRANCE DRAWN UP AND PRESENTED TO STUYVESANT—CATEGORICAL ANSWER DEMANDED—STUYVESANT DISPERSES THE CONVENTION—STILWELL AUTHORIZED TO ORGANIZE COURT-MARTIAL TO TRY MARAUDERS AND SUMMARILY PUNISH THEM—THREATENED ATTACK OF ENGLISH FLEET—DISLOYAL ENGLISH OFFER TO ASSIST THE ENEMY—PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENSE—NEWS OF PEACE—BAXTER AND HUBBARD ARRESTED—BAXTER ESCAPES.

The commissioners of the United Colonies, in the face of the position assumed by the General Court of Massachusetts, did not deem it advisable to take any action upon the petition of the disaffected English of Long Island, for assistance and protection in throwing off their allegiance to the Dutch. But George Baxter and James Hubbard, who had now become the recognized leaders of the movement, encouraged by the countenance given to them by New Haven and Connecticut, as well as Plymouth and Rhode Island, resolved to take advantage of the general feeling of insecurity, and lack of confidence in the ability of the West India Company to protect the settlers, to attempt to carry out their project of forming a confederacy of the towns on Long Island as an independent colony.

A meeting was therefore arranged, of dele-

gates from Flushing, Hempstead, Middleburgh, and Gravenzande, who assembled at Flushing for the avowed purpose of consulting upon the welfare of the country and its inhabitants, and particularly to devise some wise and salutary measures to arrest these robberies and piracies. The newly appointed municipal authorities of New Amsterdam were also invited to take part in their deliberations; and they having assented to the proposition, a meeting was held at the City Hall, in New Amsterdam, on the 25th day of November, 1653, at which the city authorities, and also the provincial council, were represented.

Upon the organization of the convention, a letter was received and read from Governor Stuyvesant, requiring the delegates severally to communicate to him in writing, their opinions as to the best method of protecting the settlers from the robbers and pirates.

Baxter and Hubbard, intent upon their revolutionary projects, proposed, that as the West India Company was no longer able to protect them in their settlements, the Director General should not be permitted to interfere with their deliberations; but that the settlers upon Long Island should form a union among themselves, for mutual protection; and proposed that the Burgomasters and Schepens of New Amsterdam, should unite with them, and that they should pay no more taxes to the company.

A majority of the delegates however, disapproved of this, and avowed their determination to maintain their allegiance to the Company and to the States General, and recommended an appeal to the Directors in Holland. In order that all the neighboring villages might be represented in so important a matter, an adjournment was had until the 10th of December, 1653; on which day, delegates regularly summoned according to the ancient custom of Holland, attended from New Amsterdam, Breuklen, Flushing, Middleburgh, Hempstead, Amersfort, Midwout, and Gravenzande.

Baxter and Hubbard now found no support for their secession views, but after a general discussion an address was agreed upon, to be presented to the Director and Council of New Amsterdam, as well as to the Government of the fatherland. This document was by direction of the convention drawn up by George Baxter, setting forth, in the form of a remonstrance, under six heads, the grievances of which the colonists complained; but which contained not the slightest allusion to the subject with reference to which they had met to consult, the prevention of robberies and piracies from which they had suffered so severely.

A copy of the remonstrance, signed by all the delegates, was presented to Stuyvesant the next day, and a categorical answer demanded to each of its six points.

The Director General did not see fit to give a

categorical answer to this communication, but sent a lengthy reply, in which he expressed his surprise, that the convention could not find among the Dutch members, one capable of drawing up a remonstrance, but must allow an Englishman to dictate what they had to say; reminding them, that the chief object for the consideration of which they had been called together—the best mode of protecting the inhabitants against pirates and freebooters—had been entirely overlooked; and that this remonstrance, setting forth their pretended grievances in other respects, had been instigated by the dissatisfied English of Gravenzande, who were actually enjoying greater privileges than had been granted to any of the Dutch nation; but as the time was now approaching when, by the terms of their patent, these English were to commence paying for the privileges they had enjoyed for ten years past, they desired to repudiate their debt, by establishing a new form of government, under the pretense that the Company could not or would not protect them.

The convention threatened, in case the Director General refused to answer the six points of their complaints, to appeal to their common superiors, the High and Mighty, The States General of Holland, and the privileged West India Company.

But Stuyvesant's only answer to this, was a peremptory order dissolving the convention, and commanding its members to disperse at once, and not meet again "under pain of severe correction;" and

calling to his counsels, his own trusted adherents the Director General proceeded in his own energetic manner to correct the evils complained of, and to protect the company and its subjects and their property.

The defense of Gravenzande was confided to Nicholas Stilwell, and with the other officers charged with the defense of the neighboring towns, he was authorized to organize a Court Martial, summarily to try and punish any marauders who might be apprehended, who, under color of military operations or otherwise, were committing depredations upon land and water.

A meeting was immediately called of the members of the Court Martial with the Magistrates of Breuklen, Midwout and Amersfort, which was held at Breuklen, April 7th, 1654, when it was ordered that "for the defense of the Dutch possessions on Long Island against these pirates and freebooters, as well as against invasion and sudden attack by the English, the entire population should be enrolled and every person should go on guard in his turn;" and that "no person, of whatever station or condition, should be exempt from uniting in a general resistance, when required, within his district." Lots were ordered to be drawn in every village and hamlet, to designate every third man, who should be kept armed, and ready at a moment's notice to follow his officer. Each inhabitant of Long Island was required, under a penalty, if he observed an

enemy at night "to fire three times his gun, to warn his next neighbors, who shall then execute the same order; and, if any person fire a gun at night, except in case of alarm, such a one shall pay a fine or submit to arbitrary correction, at the discretion of the Court."

These orders were presented to, and approved by, the Directors and Council, who at the same time commissioned several yachts to operate against the pirates by water. A proclamation was also issued, offering a reward of one hundred thalers for each pirate arrested, and threatening confiscation of property, and banishment, as a punishment of any person harboring them.

To prevent any misunderstanding with the neighboring governments as to the object of these proceedings, Stuyvesant immediately dispatched a messenger to Governor Eaton, to explain that these preparations of the Dutch were not warlike, but were only directed against pirates and freebooters. But news now reached the colony, of a still more serious danger which threatened New Netherlands.

Upon the refusal of Massachusetts colony in Dec., 1653, to unite with Connecticut and New Haven in making war upon the Dutch, the latter colonies had appealed for assistance to Cromwell, who had then just assumed the protectorate of England. Glad of an opportunity of securing to himself the support of the numerous and powerful friends of New England in England, and at the same time of extending the

Dominions of the Commonwealth, under color of vindicating the English rights to New Netherlands, the Protector announced his intention of sending a formidable fleet to drive the Dutch out of New Netherlands, and requested the assistance of the New England Colonies.

Early in May, news of this projected English expedition reached Boston, and was immediately communicated to Stuyvesant, who took measures without delay to defend the Province against this new danger.

The disaffected English at Gravenzande, rejoicing in the anticipation of the success of their traitorous projects, added not a little to the anxiety of the Director General in this emergency. Sir Henry Moody, and others of the town, undertook to commission a vessel as a privateer against the Dutch in the service of the Commonwealth of England. Baxter and Hubbard, and their adherents, tendered their services to the English authorities at Boston, and offered to surprise, cut out and carry off the "King Solomon," an armed Dutch vessel, then lying at New Amsterdam. At the same time, twelve men were appointed to manage the affairs of Gravenzande and to choose magistrates and local officers; and the authority of the Director and Council of New Netherlands to interfere in the appointment, was openly repudiated.

A portion of the English settlers of the town, however, still remained true to their allegiance, and

these, under the leadership and command of Nicholas Stilwell, with the Dutch settlers of the neighborhood, held the dissatisfied population in check; and animated by the spirit of Stuyvesant, were prepared to make a stubborn defense of the Dutch possessions on Long Island, against this traitorous combination, even if backed by the overwhelming force, which it was understood was being prepared in New England, to make a descent upon them.

But when the storm which had been lowering over them, seemed about to break over their heads with resistless violence, sunshine suddenly appeared and in a moment the clouds were dispersed.

While the New England Colonies had been urging armaments for offense, and New Netherlands had been straining every nerve to prepare for a brave but almost hopeless defense, negotiations for a peace between the mother countries had been vigorously prosecuted, and on the 23d of June, 1654, when the English fleet and the barges for transportation of the soldiers were on the eve of sailing from Boston, the Commissioners of the United Colonies received "the happy tidings of a long-desired peace between the two countries, England and Holland," and a proclamation by the Lord Protector, forbidding all English subjects from committing any further acts of hostilities upon the Dutch—"by which," in the quaint language of the Commissioners, "All the aforesaid intentions and preparations on the part of the United Colonies ceased from being employed,

and improved into the carrying on of the aforesaid enterprise."

When the news of the peace reached New Amsterdam, it was published from the City Hall with ringing of bells, and the exultant joy and pious gratitude of Stuyvesant, found expression in the proclamation which he immediately issued, appointing a day of general thanksgiving, opening in the following terms: "Praise the Lord! Oh! England's Jerusalem! and Netherlands' Zion! Praise ye the Lord! He hath secured your gates, and blessed your possessions with peace; even when the threatened torch of war was lighted, when the waves had reached our lips, they subsided only through the power of the Almighty."

But it was sad news to the disaffected at Gravenzande, for the same vessel which brought it, brought also, in a letter to Stuyvesant, the answer of the Directors of the West India Company to the remonstrance drawn up by Baxter, by direction of the convention which the Director had dispersed on the 12th of December, 1653, and which document had been subsequently forwarded to Holland, by the hands of Le Blew, the Notary.

This communication was so little to the taste of the Company, that the messenger who brought it was forbidden to return to New Netherlands. To Stuyvesant, they wrote—"You ought to have acted with more vigor against the ringleaders of the gang. It is therefore our expressed command that

you punish what has occurred, as it deserves, so that others may be deterred in future from following such example. As to the seditious of Gravenzande, let them be punished in an exemplary manner."

Baxter and Hubbard were immediately removed from the Magistracy of the town, but continuing their machinations, they soon found themselves prisoners in the keep at Fort Amsterdam, where they were kept in close confinement until the next year, when, upon the intercession of their neighbors at Gravenzande, Hubbard was released, and Baxter was transferred upon bail to the debtors' room in the Court House, until the Directors should decide upon his case. But he soon afterward escaped, carrying off whatever of his property he could lay his hands upon, leaving his bail in the lurch, as well as his creditors—among whom were the poor of the town, whose funds, to the amount of 200 guilders, had been entrusted to him.

Albany Records.
Hazard's Historical Collection.
Holland Documents.
New Amsterdam Records.
O'Callaghan.
Brodhead.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1655.

STUYVESANT SETS OUT WITH TROOPS TO RECAPTURE FORT CASIMIR ON SOUTH RIVER, AND LEAVES THE COLONY DEFENSELESS—SAVAGES LEARNING THIS, DETERMINE TO MASSACRE THE DUTCH IN REVENGE FOR A SQUAW KILLED FOR STEALING PEACHES—INDIANS SEND WARNING TO THE ENGLISH OF GRAVENZANDE—THEY NOTIFY THE DUTCH OF THEIR DANGER—2,000 INDIANS MAKE DESCENT ON NEW AMSTERDAM, SEPT. 15, 1655—CITIZENS PREPARED TO DEFEND AND SAVAGES RETIRE—DESCENT ON PAVONIA AND STATEN ISLAND—ENGLISH OF GRAVENZANDE NOT DISTURBED, THEREFORE SUSPECTED OF COMPLICITY WITH NATIVES—STUYVESANT RECALLED WITH TROOPS—NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE—RANSOM OF PRISONERS.

In the midst of Stuyvesant's preparations for the defense of New Netherlands against the expected invasion of the English, news had reached him that the Swedes, who had some time before commenced a settlement upon the South River, taking advantage of the complications in which he was involved, had made an attack upon, and captured Fort Casimir, upon that river, belonging to the Dutch.

Circumstanced as he then was, the Director General could only protest against the outrage and report the facts to his superiors in Holland. The latter immediately upon receiving the news, ordered him not only to avenge the injury, but to drive the Swedes entirely out of the river. It was not however until the following year that Stuyvesant found himself in a position to obey the order; when, hav-

ing raised a force of 600 or 700 men, and fitted out a fleet of seven vessels, on the 8th of September, 1655, he set out upon his mission.

A short time previously Hendrick Van Dyke, the late schout fiscal, had shot and killed a squaw whom he had detected stealing peaches from his garden on the North River, in New Amsterdam. This brutal outrage had caused intense excitement among the neighboring savages, and when they learned of the projected expedition against the Swedes, and that it would probably leave the Province in a comparatively defenseless condition, they determined to take advantage of Stuyvesant's absence with his troops, to avenge this murder, by a general massacre of the Dutch.

And now, the wisdom of the policy adopted by Nicholas Stilwell and his associates, in their intercourse with the Indians around Gravenzande, was signally illustrated. Dealing fairly with the simple natives at all times, and ever ready to assist them by acts of kindness and humanity, the loyal English of that town had gained not only the confidence, but the affection of their savage neighbors; and the first intimation the people of New Amsterdam and its vicinity, had of the danger which threatened them, was from a cautionary message which, immediately after Stuyvesant's departure, was sent by the Indians to their good friends, the English of Gravenzande, advising the latter to separate themselves from "the Swannekins," lest in killing the

Dutch, some of the savages might injure their English friends.

The Magistrates of Gravenzande at once notified their Dutch neighbors of their danger, and advised them to take refuge in Fort Amsterdam. The latter immediately wrote to the Director and Council in New Amsterdam, informing them of the warning they had received from the Magistrates of Gravenzande, and requested that a vessel might be sent to Anthony Jansen's bowery, to save and embark their furniture, and other effects, as far as possible.

The Director being absent, this communication was laid before the Council, who, after deliberation, advised the Dutch to remain with the English and keep watch; and although doubts were expressed as to there being any real cause for apprehension, yet, if the Dutch of Gravenzande thought it necessary, the Council promised that some soldiers should be sent to assist them.

But on the morning of the 15th of Sept., 1655, the people of New Amsterdam awoke to a terrible realization of their danger, when they found that before daylight that morning, some two thousand savages had landed in the town, five hundred of whom, fully armed, were prowling about, under pretense of searching for some northern Indians. The citizens were quickly assembled in the fort, and after a parley, the Indians pretending to be satisfied as to the object of their search, retired, crossing over to

Nutten, now Governor's Island. In the evening they returned to the city, and hunted up and shot schout fiscal Van Dyke, who was the particular object of their vengeance; but the burghers being now under arms and prepared to resist, after a skirmish in which two men of the Dutch were killed, the natives retreated to their boats, and crossed over to Pavonia, where the bloody scenes of 1643 were re-enacted, except that the savages were now the assailants.

In a few hours the thrift of ten peaceful years was destroyed, and the entire population of Pavonia was killed or carried into captivity. Passing thence to Staten Island, the Indians again ravaged it, and left it without an inhabitant or a house. In three days over a hundred of the Dutch were killed, and a hundred and fifty more were taken captive, and property to the amount of two hundred thousand florins was destroyed.

A large body of the savages then crossed over the East River, and for several weeks continued prowling around the villages, on the west end of Long Island, rendering it unsafe for any of the Dutch to move out of the settlements, except in large parties; and even in their own houses they were in nightly dread of a repetition of the atrocities which had depopulated Pavonia and Staten Island.

The English of Gravenzande alone had been left undisturbed, and even now moved about freely,

without apprehension of danger, but continually cautioning their Dutch neighbors to be on their guard. The latter, suspecting from this, that the English were in collusion with the savages against them, appealed to Governor Stuyvesant, who had been recalled in haste from the South River, asking his protection.

"Honored General," wrote the Dutch of Gravenzande—"We are at present surrounded by savages. Those who only are permitted to approach, viz., Englishmen, say that the savages do not confide in them (the English). That the Indians do not intend to delay long, but perhaps may execute their plan to-night, and that we ought to solicit a reinforcement as soon as possible. As to the English, whatever they pretend to the contrary, they permit the savages to go and return, and there is no doubt that the blow is intended to strike our heads. We do not, at any rate, expect any assistance from the English, so that we all remain with our wives and children in a dreadful anxiety. Wherefore we solicit your honor, with all earnestness and humility, to assist us as speedily as possible."

This letter was signed by Jacob Swart, Anthony Jansen, and three others—"in the name of all the Dutch." Upon the receipt of it, the Director and Council ordered a force of twenty men to be sent from the fort, to assist the people of Gravenzande, and that they depart immediately.

But the services of these troops were not required, for the Indians, having fully avenged the murder of the squaw, were now willing to bury the tomahawk. They desired, however, first to make the best bargain they could for the captive Dutch in their hands, whose scalps and lives had been spared, only because the savages had learned from their good friends, the English of Gravenzande, among other useful lessons, that it was extravagant folly to sacrifice prisoners, when they could be traded off for articles which the savages so much needed, and so highly prized, as guns, powder and lead, or even for brandy; and negotiations were therefore at once opened for the ransom of the prisoners in their hands.

A party of six Dutchmen had been captured a few days before on Long Island, one of whom had been badly wounded in the back by an arrow, and unless this was soon extracted, the natives saw they were likely to lose his exchangeable value; they therefore allowed him to visit New Amsterdam, for the double purpose of receiving surgical assistance, and of demanding from the Director, as the price of the liberty of the rest of the party, the following articles, "which the savages had marked upon a small stick:" 20 ells of cloth, 20 handfuls of gunpowder, 10 staves of lead, 10 kettles, 2 guns, 3 swords, 20 yards sewant, 40 knives, 10 pairs of shoes, 10 pairs of stockings, 10 chisels, 10 axes, and 20 tobacco pipes.

The Director and Council, after deliberation, decided that it would not be advisable to pay this extravagant ransom for these few prisoners, as the other savages at Pavonia, and on Staten Island, who held over seventy captives, hearing of it, would demand a proportionably exorbitant price for the liberty of those in their hands. But while refusing to ransom the prisoners, Stuyvesant sent a present of some powder and ball to each of the chiefs, and a message "that if the savages would freely release and return all the Christian captives in their hands, he would not be behind them in generosity, and would reciprocate their kindness by a substantial recompense."

As the troops had now returned from the South River, and the Director was in a position to punish them, the savages deemed it prudent to accept his offer, and released and returned all their prisoners; and Stuyvesant then made satisfactory presents to the Indians, and peace was again restored.

New Amsterdam Records.

CHAPTER XIX.

1656-9.

FIRST ESOPUS WAR—COLONISTS REQUIRED TO LIVE TOGETHER AND FORM VILLAGES—NEGLECT TO DO SO—SETTLERS AT ESOPUS SELL SPIRITUOUS LIQUORS TO SAVAGES AND OUTRAGES FOLLOW—STUYVESANT BUILDS REDOUBT AT ESOPUS FOR PROTECTION OF SETTLERS—DASTARDLY ATTACK BY SOME OF THE DUTCH UPON THE INDIANS STUPIFIED WITH LIQUOR—RETTALIATION, DUTCH PRISONERS CAPTURED AND BURNED, AND THE FORT BESIEGED—APPEAL TO STUYVESANT FOR RELIEF—VOLUNTEERS CALLED FOR IN NEW AMSTERDAM BUT NOT FORTHCOMING—APPEAL TO THE ENGLISH—NICHOLAS STILWELL RAISES A TROOP IN GRAVENZANDE AND INDUCES INDIANS TO JOIN HIM—GOES TO THE RELIEF OF BESIEGED OF ESOPUS—INDIANS RETREAT CARRYING OFF PRISONERS WITH THEM—HEAVY RAINS FLOOD THE COUNTRY—IMPOSSIBLE TO FOLLOW THEM.

The great damage which the savages had been able to inflict upon the colonists in the late outbreak, had been owing, in a great measure, to the fact that the settlers in the country lived so far apart that they were unable to assist each other against a sudden attack. In order to prevent the recurrence of a similar calamity, on the 18th of January, 1656, a proclamation was issued, commanding all persons living in secluded places in the country to collect themselves together and form villages "after the fashion of our neighbors of New England."

But now that Stuyvesant had returned with the troops, whose absence alone, it was believed, had

induced the late attack, it was not easy to convince those who for ten years had lived in safety in the neighborhood of the savages, that the danger of another outbreak was sufficient to necessitate the destruction or removal of the few dwellings which had been left standing. Little attention was therefore paid to the proclamation; and upon peace being declared, the settlers generally returned to their former homes, and such of their buildings as had been destroyed were re-built upon the same sites, and the colonists continued to live apart, each upon his own farm.

The purchase of furs from the Indians was one of the principal sources of profit to the farmers, and particularly to those of the frontier settlements; but the competition in this, had latterly become so great, that some of those at Esopus, now Kingston, with a view to influence trade in their favor, and perhaps to enable them to obtain more advantageous bargains from drunken men, were in the habit, in open violation of law, of supplying the Indians with brandy and other intoxicating liquors.

The result which might have been anticipated quickly followed. Some savages who had no peltries to offer in exchange, demanded liquor, and upon its being refused, murdered one of the settlers and burned the dwelling and out-houses of another. Several others of the Dutch were compelled by threats, to plough the lands of the indolent natives, the latter holding lighted fire-brands to the dwell-

ings of the settlers, and threatening to fire them in case of refusal.

To prevent the destruction of their crops and houses, and in fear of their lives, the farmers complied with the demands of the savages, but immediately sent an express to the Director General, acquainting him with the condition of affairs, and requesting that forty or fifty soldiers should be sent to protect them. The fertile lands of the Esopus, it was asserted, "could supply all New Netherlands with provisions, and already had a population of between sixty and seventy families employed in agriculture, who then had over a thousand schepels of wheat in the ground."

Stuyvesant had previously received instructions from the home authorities to build a redoubt at this point, for the protection of the inhabitants, and a special force, with a supply of ammunition, had been sent out for the purpose; and immediately upon receiving information of the disturbance there, he proceeded to the spot with a force of fifty men. Upon his arrival, finding the settlers still widely scattered, he declared his inability to protect them, unless they would come together and form a village and fortify it.

He pointed out to them a tract in the bend of the creek near its mouth, which could be easily defended, as it was surrounded on three sides by the water; and promised if they would form a village there, inclose it with palisades, and build a

guard-house within it, that he would remain with them until it was finished, and would detail a garrison to defend it.

The settlers assented to this and entered into the project so heartily, that in three weeks, time the stockade was completed, their dwellings removed within the inclosure, and the guard-house finished; when the Director returned to New Amsterdam, leaving twenty-four soldiers to protect the settlement. But the relations between the Indians and the Dutch were so unsatisfactory that it was found necessary within a few months to increase the force to fifty men. These were placed under the command of Ensign Dirck Smidt, with positive instructions to the latter to allow no savages inside the palisades, and, if necessary, to detail soldiers to protect the settlers while at work in the fields; but in all cases to act only on the defensive.

But the Dutch no sooner found themselves behind defenses, and with troops to protect them, than some of their number who had been compelled to submit to the imposition of the savages, determined to take the first opportunity of being revenged upon them. Thomas Chambers, one of the settlers who cultivated a large tract of land, had employed seven or eight Indians to husk his corn. After their work was over in the evening, he gave them some brandy, which they imbibed freely, and under its influence began "making a

terrible noise." This they kept up till near midnight, when one of the savages fired a gun, which was charged only with powder. The soldiers in the fort had heard the outcries, and at the report of the gun, the sergeant of the guard was ordered out to ascertain the cause of the disturbance. Upon his return he reported, that it was only a lot of drunken savages in the midst of their carousals.

Jacob Jansen Stol, one of the settlers, who had lately suffered at the hands of the Indians, seeing an opportunity of revenging himself upon them without danger, induced several of his neighbors to join him in an attack; and contrary to the orders of Ensign Smidt, they sallied out of the fort at midnight, and coming upon the savages sleeping, stupefied with liquor, fired a volley of musketry among them, killing and wounding several, and then "finishing their bloody work with axes and sabres, returned to the fort with great speed."

The commanding officer finding that he could not control the settlers, and knowing that this dastardly outrage would provoke a terrible retribution, immediately announced that he had received orders to return to New Amsterdam with his soldiers, and would depart the next day. To prevent this, the settlers took possession of all the boats in the neighborhood, and Smidt, unable to procure transportation for his troops, was obliged to remain; but immediately dispatched an express to New Amsterdam to acquaint Stuyvesant with the condition

of affairs, and request his presence with reinforcements.

Smidt's anticipations of the disastrous effects of this night's work were speedily realized. A sergeant and eight soldiers, with some sixteen or eighteen of the colonists fully armed, who had been detailed as an escort to protect the courier from the fort to the banks of the river, where he was to take boat for the Mannhattans, on their way back to the fort, found themselves in an ambuscade, and fifteen of their number, including the sergeant and six of the soldiers, fell into the hands of the savages.

War was now openly declared, and in a few hours over five hundred Indians, thirsting for revenge, swarmed around the fort. All the houses, barns, and out-houses in the vicinity were burned, the crops destroyed, the horses and cattle killed. They also attempted to set fire to the fort, but failing in this, they erected stakes, to which the Dutch prisoners in their hands were affixed, and eight of them, after suffering all the tortures that savage ingenuity could devise, were burned alive. Several of the other prisoners, youths, only escaped the like fate, by being adopted into the tribe. For three weeks the fort was so closely invested that not a white person dared venture outside the palisades, which the drenching rain alone saved from destruction by fire.

The arrival at New Amsterdam of the courier from Esopus with the news of the outbreak and of

the critical situation of the inhabitants and soldiers there, besieged in the fort, caused intense excitement throughout the colony. There were only some eight or ten men left in Fort Amsterdam, sixty soldiers, all that could be spared, having just been sent to the South River, to defend the Dutch possessions there, against the claims of Maryland.

The farmers upon, and in the vicinity of Manhattan Island, having a vivid recollection of the terrible scenes through which they had passed but three years before, received the news from Esopus with the utmost consternation; and apprehending a renewal of the massacre of 1655, they fled in every direction, abandoning their houses, their harvested grain, and their cattle, deeming themselves fortunate to escape with their lives. Even the villages on the west end of Long Island, except Gravenzande, were in the first panic abandoned, the inhabitants flying to New Amsterdam, where an epidemic fever was then raging, but which was forgotten in the presence of the greater danger.

Stuyvesant, who was himself suffering from the fever, rose from his sick bed, and visiting the neighboring settlements, to which the inhabitants had returned on finding that they were not pursued, endeavored to re-assure them, and persuade them to come together and form villages, and inclose them with palisades.

He at once ordered into service for the protection of the colony, all persons in the employ of the Com-

pany, the clerks in the stores and offices, and even a number of his own servants, and of the hands employed in his brewery; and then called for volunteers to accompany him to the relief of their friends and neighbors in such imminent danger at Esopus.

The city authorities and officers of the militia of New Amsterdam exerted themselves to raise recruits for the expedition, but the Burghers of the city declared that "they were only obliged to defend their own homes, and would not go out of the city and jeopardize their lives in fighting barbarous savages," and at the end of three days only six or eight men had been enlisted for the service.

In this emergency the Director General, weak from illness, and almost disheartened by the apathy of his own people, appealed to his trusty friends, the English. Captain Bryan Newton, and Lieutenant Nicholas Stilwell were immediately dispatched to the neighboring English and Dutch villages to call for volunteers. They met however but with little success, except at Gravenzande, for each settler urged the necessity of his remaining at home to defend his own fireside.

The English of Gravenzande had no fear of molestation from the savages, but hesitated to engage in the expedition, from a belief that the Indians of Esopus had not commenced hostilities without sufficient provocation. When, however, Nicholas Stilwell, whose counsels they had so long followed, in

peace as well as in war, assured them that Stuyvesant would see that justice was done between the colonists and their savage assailants, and called for volunteers to follow him to the relief of their friends and neighbors of Esopus, there was a hearty response from those who under his leadership had become veterans in Indian warfare, and a company of twenty-five Englishmen, with Nicholas at their head, at once offered their services to Stuyvesant.

To allay any apprehension of the Dutch, of a general uprising of the natives, during the absence of the troops, twenty-five warriors of the tribes in the vicinity were at the same time induced to volunteer for the expedition, and marched with their good friends, the English, to New Amsterdam, where they were gratefully received by Stuyvesant and taken into the service.

It was now nearly two weeks that those of Esopus had been besieged, and no further time was to be lost in seeking volunteers. The Director therefore ordered an immediate draft of one hundred men from the city militia, and with these, the twenty-five English, and the like number of the friendly Indians, and the few volunteers from New Amsterdam, on "Sunday evening, after the second sermon," the Director sailed for Esopus.

Upon his arrival, Stuyvesant learned that the siege had been raised thirty-six hours previously, the savages finding, after having stormed the works several times, that they could make no impression

upon the defenses of the place. In retiring, the Indians had carried with them several of the prisoners they had captured; but the heavy rains which had protected the besieged from the most effectual weapon of the savages, had inundated the country around, so that it was impossible to follow them; and Stuyvesant having therefore no employment for the large force he had brought with him, ordered them back to the Manhattans.

The good understanding which the Director General had maintained with the Mohawks and Mohegans had prevented the Esopus Indians from obtaining the co-operation of those powerful tribes against the whites, and now a number of their chiefs proved their friendship for the Dutch by proceeding to the Esopus, and procuring the release of several Christian prisoners, and compelling the sachems there to agree to a truce. But the latter refused to consent to a permanent peace, or to surrender the young prisoners in their hands who had been adopted into the tribe; nor would they come to New Amsterdam with the sachems of the other tribes to treat for the return of their prisoners.

In the spring, Stuyvesant therefore put an end to the truce, and formally declared war against the Esopus Indians and their adherents; and in March, 1660, sent Ensign Smidt out against them, with a large force, with which he attacked and routed them, capturing a number of prisoners, fifteen or twenty of whom were, by an order of council, on

the 25th of May, banished and transported to the insalubrious climate of Curagoa, to be employed there, or at Buenaire, with the negroes in the Company's service.

In July following, the Esopus Indians having become weary of the war, in which they could find no allies, solicited the mediation of the chiefs of the friendly tribes, through whom a conference was arranged with Stuyvesant, and terms of peace agreed upon, by which all the lands of Esopus were ceded to the Dutch, "to wipe out the remembrance of the injuries they had suffered at the hands of the savages;" and the latter, by way of ransom for the christian captives, were to receive 800 schepels of wheat. The mediating parties having agreed to be responsible for the good faith and future good conduct of the Esopus Indians, the treaty was signed and formally ratified—"under the blue sky of Heaven."

Doc. History of New York.
Albany Records.
O'Callaghan.
Brodhead.

CHAPTER XX.

1660-1.

ANTHONY JANSEN VON SALEE FIRST SETTLER ON WEST END OF LONG ISLAND—RECEIVES GRANT OF BOWERY—ON DECLARATION OF WAR BY STUYVESANT AGAINST ESOPUS INDIANS IS FRIGHTENED AND EXCHANGES HIS BOWERY WITH NICHOLAS STILWELL FOR A HOUSE IN GRAVENZANDE—NICHOLAS NOT DISTURBED BY SAVAGES, AND JANSEN AFTERWARD COMPLAINS TO DIRECTOR THAT HE MADE A BAD BARGAIN AND ASKS TO BE RELIEVED—RUMORS OF FURTHER INDIAN TROUBLES AND JANSEN WITHDRAWS HIS COMPLAINT—NICHOLAS RECEIVES NEWS OF JOHN'S EXECUTION—SENDS HIS SON RICHARD TO ENGLAND TO RECOVER ESTATES OF JOHN—ALSO HIS OWN PROPERTY AS HEIR OF SIR RALPH HOPTON—MEETS THERE EX-QUEEN OF BOHEMIA.

The first settler upon the south side of Long Island, was Anthony Jansen Von Salee,* an African, who, after a course of life as a pirate and freebooter, had found refuge in New Amsterdam, at an early day.

On the first of August, 1639, Kieft gave him a lease for ten years, at a nominal rent, for a tract of one hundred morgens, about two hundred acres, of land on the south-west corner of Long Island, lying over against Coney Island, having a frontage on the bay of 253 rods. Jansen having built a house upon the land, and otherwise improved it, on the 27th of May, 1643, after the termination of the first Indian outbreak of that year, Kieft issued to him a

* For an account of this worthy by Teunis G. Bergen, Esq., see *Brooklyn Eagle*, Feb. 20, 1851.

ground brief or patent for it. This fine tract, which was long known as "Anthony Jansen's bowery," immediately adjoined that afterward granted to Lady Moody and her associates, the successful defense of which against the savages, a few months later, gave this bowery an additional value, as being comparatively safe from Indian attack.

But Jansen was one of the most notorious of the blood-thirsty crew of which Van Tienhoven was the leader, who were in some manner responsible for most of the outrages by which the savages had been driven into acts of hostilities against the whites; and in the troubles of 1655, if he had not been in a measure shielded by the English of Gravenzande, he would probably have been one of the first victims of savage vengeance.

Upon the declaration of war, by Stuyvesant, against the Esopus Indians, in the spring of 1660, Jansen, fearing that hostilities might again extend to Long Island, was extremely anxious to obtain the shelter of the palisades by which Gravenzande was surrounded. Nicholas lived within this inclosure, but he did not rely upon arms or palisades for protection; and when Jansen proposed to exchange his bowery for a house in the village, Nicholas gladly made the exchange, and in April, 1660, conveyed to Jansen the house and lot which the former had purchased from Ralph Cardell, in 1648, with 1,600 guilders to boot, in exchange for Jansen's bowery, and the latter slept soundly behind the pal-

isades of the town, while Nicholas removed to, and occupied his unprotected bowery.

Soon afterward, in view of the unsettled condition of affairs with the savages, the Director and Council deemed it advisable to enforce the order which had been made some time before, requiring the occupants of all isolated dwellings to destroy them, and remove into villages and fortified places; but Nicholas Stilwell who, upon his removal from the town, had been appointed by Stuyvesant his lieutenant and sheriff of the Dutch possessions on Long Island, declared that he needed no assistance other than his own family and servants, to defend himself and his possessions; and by a special order of the Director and Council he was permitted to retain his dwelling and remain upon his bowery.

He had resided there for two years, unmolested by the savages, and Anthony Jansen, seeing with how little trouble and expense Nicholas had defended himself, concluded that he might have done the same, and that he had made a poor exchange. He therefore presented a petition to the Governor and Council, representing that in "April, 1660, he, Jansen, had sold his bowery and house, in the vicinity of Gravenzande, to Nicholas Stilwell, for a house in the village, and sixteen hundred guilders to boot, but that he, the suppliant, was of opinion that by the sale he had lost more than half the real value of the bowery, and he therefore prayed to be relieved from the sale."

It was ordered that a copy of the petition be delivered to Nicholas Stilwell, and that he appear before the Director and Council to answer it. But before the case was finally disposed of, rumors came of another Indian outbreak. The trouble was now at a distance, between the English upon the Kennebec, and the powerful tribe of the Mohawks; and although the latter were friends and allies of the Dutch, Jansen fearing that hostilities might extend to Long Island, concluded that palisades might not, after all, be without their value, and that perhaps he had not made so bad a bargain. He therefore withdrew his petition, and retiring within the fortifications of Gravenzande, left Nicholas to brave the dangers of savage outbreaks in his isolated dwelling, which the latter was well contented to do.

For several years prior to 1660, John, the brother of Nicholas, had filled with honor the position of Chief Justice in Ireland, where he had acquired large estates; and the future had seemed to promise that in the ease of his last years, he should find compensation for all the hardships and trials of the earlier portion of his life; but his prospects were now suddenly clouded by the news of the restoration of Charles the Second.

The King, while an exile at Breda, negotiating for his return to power, had been so lavish in promises of oblivion for all past acts, that even his restoration to the throne of his ancestors was not looked

upon as an event from which danger was to be anticipated to those who had been concerned in the transactions of the last twelve years ; but one of his first acts, upon his return to power, was to bring to trial and punishment, those who had been instrumental in the death of his father ; and with such expedition had this been done, that the first intimation which Nicholas received of the sad fate of his brother John, was a letter written by the latter, from Newgate prison, the day before his execution, conveying to Nicholas his last farewell—but in no desponding terms.

“My Dear Brother,” wrote he :

“I am condemned to die, and this is my cordial farewell to you, from my Jeremiah’s prison. Tomorrow I shall be in eternal glory, in the bosom of Christ, where our father Abraham is, and a guard of Angels will convoy my soul thither.”

After giving an account of his trial, he continued :
“I intend by God’s assistance, upon the scaffold, to bear my testimony for Jesus Christ to all his officers, and for a gospel magistracy and ministry ; and to speak something, so far as God shall enable, and will be permitted, for the good old cause of righteousness and holiness. I can at present only leave my dear love and respects for you and my dear sister, beseeching God, and not doubting, but that we shall shortly meet in eternal glory. Company so spends me, that I can write no more. I shall suddenly enter into the joy of the Lord. O

blessed be His name, blessed be the Comforter. My soul is full of consolation. Farewell! farewell! farewell! I will meet you in Paradise.

“Yours for ever,

“JOHN COOKE.”

John had left a widow, and one daughter, who in case his estates were confiscated, would be entirely destitute; but in giving directions in regard to his affairs while in prison, he had declared, that even in case of his attainder, his estates in Ireland could not be forfeited without an act of Parliament to that effect.

The Hoptons, to whom Nicholas was nearly allied, had rendered important services to King Charles the First during the civil war, and had made great sacrifices in his cause; and Nicholas therefore had hopes, through their influence, of being able not only to save these Irish estates to the family of his brother John, but also to secure to his own eldest son, Richard, some portion of the property in England, to which it was believed he was entitled, in right of his deceased mother, Abigail Hopton, as one of the heirs of Sir Ralph Hopton, her brother, who had died without issue.

Nicholas had intended that his son Richard should adopt the profession of the law, but the limited opportunities afforded in New Netherlands of acquiring the special education requisite for that career, and the slight prospect of attaining either reputation or wealth by its practice in the colony, had

not encouraged the idea ; but now that his son could return to England, as the scion of a noble house, having strong claims upon the gratitude of the king, the road to favor and fortune seemed open to him, and Nicholas did not hesitate to take advantage of it.

Richard was therefore at once dispatched to England, where he arrived opportunely to meet the dis-crowned Queen of Bohemia, the early friend of his mother, who had been permitted to return, after her long exile, to pass the last years of her eventful life at the court of her nephew, Charles the Second. From her, and the few but powerful friends whom her misfortunes had left her, it would have been strange indeed if the son of Nicholas and of Abigail Hopton, who had been sharers in her first troubles, had failed to find a welcome ; and under such distinguished patronage, Richard entered upon his new career in life.

Upon the appointment of Nicholas to the office of sheriff, the people of Gravenzande chose his second son, Nicholas Stilwell, Jr., to succeed him in the magistracy of the town. The youngest son of Nicholas, who was born in October, 1660, while John was suffering in his "Jeremiah's prison," upon his baptism, in the Dutch church in New Amsterdam, on the 13th of January, 1661, was appropriately named, Jeremiah.

Albany Records.

Lydia Watkins' Correspondence with President Stiles—Yale College Library.

Lives of Regicides. Lond., 1660—Clarendon.

CHAPTER XXI.

1663.

SECOND ESOPUS WAR, 1663 — INCORPORATION OF WILTWYCK AND BUILDING OF THE NEW VILLAGE SOME MILES INLAND—SAVAGES DISCONTENTED—WAITING TO AVENGE THEIR WARRIORS HELD IN SLAVERY BY THE DUTCH—INDIAN UPRISING OF JUNE 7, 1663—DESTROY THE NEW VILLAGE—KILL MANY AND CAPTURE FORTY-FIVE PRISONERS—STUYVESANT SENDS UP FORTY-TWO SOLDIERS FROM THE FORT, AND CALLS FOR VOLUNTEERS TO RESCUE THE PRISONERS—AGAIN OBLIGED TO APPEAL TO THE ENGLISH—NICHOLAS RAISES A TROOP OF ENGLISH, AND ALSO FORTY INDIANS—SAVAGES HOLD CAPTIVES IN A FORT NINE OR TEN DUTCH MILES IN INTERIOR—EXPEDITION FOR THEIR RESCUE—FIND FORT ABANDONED AND PRISONERS REMOVED—RETURN TO WILTWYCK.

The severe measures which Stuyvesant adopted against the Indians captured at Esopus, banishing fifteen or twenty of their number to Curagoa or Buenaire, to be there worked with the Company's negroes, although not without precedent, were exceedingly impolitic, and sowed the seed for another Indian war; for the savages never forgot their banished braves, and only waited a favorable opportunity to avenge them.

The fertile lands of the Esopus, which had been ceded to the Dutch by the treaty of 1660, were soon taken up by farmers, and in the following year a charter of incorporation was granted for a village which was named Wiltwyck, from the fact that the lands upon which it was built were a free gift from the savages. During the three years fol-

lowing the peace, the population had increased so greatly, and the area of cultivated land extended so widely, that another fortified village was found necessary to accommodate the inhabitants. This was erected some miles inland, upon "the great flat," and was called the New Village.

The precautions which had been adopted for security against the savages, had gradually been relaxed, and they had latterly been permitted to visit the villages freely, for the purpose of selling their peltries or provisions, or bartering the same for supplies. The soldiers who had been detailed to protect the colonists had been withdrawn, except a few who remained at the old fort or redoubt, near the mouth of Esopus Creek, some miles distant from the new settlements.

The Indians had watched with evident dissatisfaction, the erection of this "new fort." The ground upon which it was built, they said, had never been paid for; and they never ceased to bewail the hard fate of their brethren held in slavery by the Dutch; and when under the influence of brandy, with which they were now supplied more freely than ever, half-uttered threats of vengeance had at times escaped them.

The discontent of the savages had been reported to Stuyvesant as early as April, 1663, and the colonists had requested him to hear their complaints and endeavor to satisfy them. On the 5th of June, following, the sachems had been notified through

Captain Thomas Chambers, that the Director General would visit them in a few days, make them satisfactory presents, and "renew the peace." To which they had replied, that "if Stuyvesant intended to do this, he should come with some unarmed persons, and sit with them in the open field, without the gate, as was their custom in renewing peace among themselves."

Re-assured by this, on the morning of the 7th of June, 1663, the colonists left their homes as usual, to pursue their labors in the fields. Between 11 and 12 o'clock, a considerable number of Indians entered Wiltwyck without exciting particular attention, as they scattered themselves among the dwellings, which they entered in a friendly manner, as usual, under pretense of selling some maize and beans, which they had brought for the purpose. But shortly before noon, several horsemen came dashing through the Mill Gate into the village, crying out, "The savages have destroyed the new village."

The alarm bell was immediately sounded, and the few villagers who had remained at home rushed to secure their arms; but in a moment, the savages who had entered the houses commenced the work of death, with axes and tomahawks, but "so silently, that the people in different parts of the town were not aware of it, until those who had been wounded happened to meet each other in their flight." Another body of the Indians set fire to the village to the

windward, and the alarmed husbandmen rushing from the fields to save their homes, were shot down by the savages, who laid in ambush at each corner, until "the dead lay as sheaves behind a mower."

The settlers at length rallied, and with the energy of desperation, drove the savages out of the village and secured the gates. The wind, which had been blowing from the south, having fortunately changed to the west, they were enabled to arrest the progress of the conflagration, but only after twelve houses had been destroyed, the wounded or helpless occupants of which had perished in the flames.

Upon being mustered in the evening, it was found that, including those from the new village who had found refuge in Wiltwyck, they numbered sixty-nine able-bodied men. Twenty-one had been killed, nine more wounded, and forty-five (among whom were a number of women and children) had been taken captive by the savages. The burned palisades were at once replaced by new ones, and the entire population was distributed to keep watch during the night.

Upon receiving intelligence of this new outrage, a reinforcement of forty-two soldiers from Fort Amsterdam, under command of Ensign Christian Niessen, was at once dispatched by Stuyvesant to Wiltwyck, and a messenger was also sent to the Mohawks and Senecas, calling upon them to take up arms against the Esopus Indians, for whom the

former had become sureties to the Dutch, upon the treaty of 1660. A proclamation was also issued, calling upon the colonists of Manhattan Island, and its vicinity, for volunteers to assist their friends at Esopus, and to rescue the prisoners in the hands of the savages, and offering extraordinary inducements for them to enlist.

But with the terrible picture before their eyes, of the still smoking ruins of the dwellings, and the mutilated and unburied dead of the Esopus, every settler felt the necessity of his remaining at home to protect his own family; and although Stuyvesant made a personal visit to Hempstead, and sent special messengers to each of the neighboring villages appealing for assistance, not over half a dozen persons could be induced to volunteer, except from Gravenzande; where the appeal of Nicholas Stilwell to his now celebrated troop, met with its wonted response, and the next day thirty Englishmen from that town, with Nicholas at their head, and followed by about forty friendly Indians, presented themselves before the Director General, as volunteers prepared for the expedition.

This last unprovoked massacre sealed the fate of the Esopus savages, and even those who had hitherto been their apologists or defenders, could not impugn the justice or necessity of the decree which now went forth, denouncing them as enemies of the human race, who could be bound by no treaties or obligations, and should be exterminated. But they

had in their hands some forty Christian captives, whose safety it was first necessary to secure; and for this purpose an expedition was determined upon, the conduct of which was entrusted to a military council, consisting of Martin Kregier, one of the burgomasters of New Amsterdam, as Captain Lieutenant commanding in chief, Lieutenant Nicholas Stilwell, commanding the English Volunteers, Lieutenant Peter Wolfertsen Von Cowenhoven, the leader of the friendly Indians of Long Island, and Ensign Christian Niessen, under whose command the soldiers sent from Fort Amsterdam to Wiltwyck had been placed.

“The Director and Council not having been able to obtain sufficient and satisfactory information as to what assistance the Esopus savages might have obtained from other tribes, and what force they had in their fort, or what force they might bring into the field, it was left to the discretion of the Captain Lieutenant, and his military council, to determine, in what manner, and with what force, the savages ought to be attacked: and also in case it was considered advisable to treat with the Indians for the release of their Christian captives, the Captain Lieutenant and his Council were authorized to agree upon an armistice, and terms of ransom, but not in any event to conclude a peace.”

All military movements and affairs were to be determined upon in council, and by a majority vote,

and in case of an equal division, Captain-Lieutenant Kregier was to have a double vote.

Two yachts were detailed to transport the expedition, with the necessary supplies, to Rondout, where it arrived on the 4th of July, 1663, and immediately marched to Wiltwyck where the military council was established, and several days spent in gathering such intelligence as could be obtained, of the strength and position of the enemy.

From Madam Von Imbroeck (a daughter of La Montague, one of the council), who had been captured in the attack of the 7th of June, and had escaped, they derived the valuable information that the savages numbered about two hundred warriors, and occupied a strong square fort, some nine or ten Dutch miles in the interior; that the prisoners were confined there, but were removed nightly to the mountains for safety, as the savages counted upon holding them as hostages, to secure immunity for their late outrages.

Negotiations were first opened through the Mohawks for the ransom of the captives, and several of the women and children were restored to liberty; but the Esopus Indians refused to listen to any terms for the remaining prisoners, unless they could secure peace thereby; and threatened to kill them, "unless Corlear and Rensselaer came to their fort with presents to ransom them, and conclude a peace," for which the savages said they would wait ten days, and demanded a truce during that period,

declaring their intention to make a stand in their fort.

The position of the savages having thus been discovered, it was resolved in council to attack them at once in full force, and the next day, leaving a garrison of thirty-six soldiers and twenty-five free-men for the protection of Wiltwyck, the expedition set out, composed of Captain-Lieutenant Kregier's company, ninety-one men, Lieutenant Stilwell's troop of thirty men, Lieutenant Cowenhoven with forty-one Long Island Indians, six volunteers from the Manhattans, and thirty-five from the Esopus, seven negroes, with two pieces of cannon and two wagons.

They started about four o'clock in the afternoon of the 26th of July, 1663, and after proceeding about ten miles, halted, until the moon rose, when they started anew; but after half an hour's march, finding that they could not get through the woods at night, they bivouacked until daylight. At day-break they continued their march, passing over stony land, and hills so steep, that they were obliged to haul the cannon and wagons up and down with ropes; swamps and creeks, to cross which, they had to cut down trees, and make bridges, so that their progress was very slow.

When about two miles from the Indian fort, Lieutenant Stilwell, with his troop of English, Lieutenant Cowenhoven with his Indians, and Ensign Neisson with 40 men of Captain-Lieutenant Kregier's

company, were sent forward to surprise it. On arriving at the fort, it was found that the savages had abandoned it; and from a squaw whom they captured, it was ascertained that the Indians had fled two days before, to a high mountain several miles distant, which the squaw pointed out, and had taken with them the prisoners. The fort was inclosed by three rows of palisades, and contained several strongly-built houses, in which the troops passed the night.

The military council assembled at break of day, and unanimously resolved to go in search of the Indians, leaving the Captain-Lieutenant with twenty-four men to retain possession of the fort. But upon arriving at the mountain pointed out by the squaw, it was found that the savages had again retreated; and they were directed now to another fort distant some miles further, whither they followed, but with no better success. All hopes of overtaking the savages were now abandoned, and the soldiers returned to the captured fort. Here they found several hundred pits full of maize and beans, which had been stored by the Indians and which they burned. They also cut down and destroyed all their standing corn, covering over two hundred acres of land.

While the soldiers were engaged in this work of destruction, several of the savages appeared on the summit of the mountain, and cried out, "that they would now come out and fight, as the Dutch had cut down their corn, and burned their stores of maize

and beans, and they must die of hunger." The Indians, however, did not come; and the next morning at dawn of day, the fort and all the houses in it were set on fire; while they were in full blaze, the troops marched out in good order, Lieutenant Cowenhoven forming the vanguard, Lieutenant Stilwell and his company in the centre, and Captain-Lieutenant Kregier in the rear. After a toilsome march, the expedition arrived safely at Wiltwyck, about nine o'clock in the evening, with the cannon and wagons, and three horses which they had captured at the Indian fort.

Albany Records.
Dominie Blom, Doc. Hist. of N. Y.
O'Callaghan.
Brodhead.

CHAPTER XXII.

1663.

INDIAN AUXILIARIES RETURN HOME—STUYVESANT NEGOTIATES WITH ESOPUS INDIANS FOR SURRENDER OF CAPTIVES—SENDS LIEUTENANT COWENHOVEN WITH WAPPINGER SACHEM TO HAVE A TALK WITH THEM—TEMPTS THEM WITH BRANDY—NEGOTIATION FAILS, BUT WAPPINGER SACHEM DISCOVERS LOCALITY OF NEW FORT WHERE PRISONERS ARE CONFINED—NEW EXPEDITION SENT OUT, FIFTY-FIVE PICKED MEN—NICHOLAS, WITH TWENTY-FOUR ENGLISH, WHEN NEAR THE FORT ARE DISCOVERED—CHARGE, AND EFFECT AN ENTRANCE—ESOPUS TRIBE DESTROYED AND CAPTIVES RESCUED—RETURN TO WILTWYCK WITH THE CAPTURED CHRISTIANS.

The forty-one Indians from Long Island, who had volunteered for the expedition, refusing to remain any longer, upon their return to Wiltwyck, were sent back to the Mannhattans, Lieutenant Cowenhoven, their commander, accompanying them. A few days afterwards the latter was directed by Stuyvesant to return, and endeavor, through the mediation of the Wappinger Indians, to obtain the release of the Christian captives, still held by the savages of Esopus.

Several days were spent in the negotiation, and the Indians finally promised that they would bring in, within two days, all the prisoners they had; but they did not keep their word, and Lieutenant Cowenhoven only succeeded in securing the release of a youth, by paying a ransom of eighty guilders for

him; and a woman, by promising in exchange for her, the squaw captured by the Dutch in the late expedition; and with these he returned to Wiltwyck.

It was now determined by the military council to adopt a different basis for negotiation; and Lieutenant Cowenhoven having been supplied with an abundance of spirituous liquors, was instructed to return and invite the Indians down for a "talk" with the Wappingers, and endeavor by fair words to induce them to bring their prisoners with them. He was then to supply the natives freely with brandy, and watching his time and opportunity, to seize as many of the Esopus Indians as possible; or in case he could induce them by any means to go on board his vessel, he was to detain them there by intoxicating liquors or otherwise, while he sent a yacht to the military council, who would send down a force to secure them.

But the savages were wary, and were not to be tempted even by brandy; and on the 30th of August Cowenhoven returned to Wiltwyck, without having succeeded in releasing any more of the prisoners; but the Wappinger sachem, who had conducted the negotiation, reported that the Esopus Indians had built a new fort, about "four hours" further inland than the old one, which had been burned by the Dutch, and that the captive Christians were all confined there.

The military council resolved at once to send out a force of picked men, under the guidance

of the Wappinger sachem to attack the savages, in their new fort, and rescue the prisoners. For this purpose a requisition was made upon the sheriff and commissary of Wiltwyck, for twenty horses, for the use of any of the party who might happen to be wounded. The difficulty of procuring these animals, and the bad weather, delayed the movement for a few days; but on the 3d of September, 1663, having obtained eight horses, the expedition set out at one o'clock, P. M., composed of fifty-five men; twenty-two selected from Captain Kregier's company, twenty-four English under Lieutenant Stilwell, seven freemen of Wiltwyck, and two negroes.

After a march of three hours, they reached "the creek which runs past the redoubt," where they halted and passed the night in a drenching rain. The next morning they found the stream so swollen, that they were unable to ford it, and six men were sent back on horseback to Wiltwyck for ropes and axes. On their return, they cut down trees and made a raft, upon which they crossed the Kill, having first passed the rope over and made it fast to the trees on the opposite side, to prevent the raft being carried down with the current. They marched twelve miles further, when, night coming on, they again bivouacked in the open air, the rain still coming down in torrents.

At daybreak the next morning, they continued

their march, and about two o'clock in the afternoon came in sight of the new stronghold of the savages, which was situated upon an elevated plain, about thirty-six miles southwest of Wiltwyck, and probably in the present town of Mamakating, in Sullivan county.* The fort was constructed of palisades, of the thickness of a man's body, set three feet in the ground, and extending fifteen feet above it, with a double row of loop-holes, one above the other, for musketry, and was built "so solid, that Ohristians could not have done it better."

After surveying the position, the attacking force was divided into two parts, Captain Kregier and Lieutenant Cowenhoven commanding the right wing, and Lieutenant Stilwell and Ensign Neissen the left. They crept stealthily along the foot of the hill, so as not to be seen until they came directly under the fort; but the ground on the left, being somewhat level, Stilwell's company was discovered by a squaw, who was piling wood there, and who sent forth "a terrible scream," which was heard by the Indians who were standing and working near the fort. The latter immediately rushed through the gates to their houses, which stood a stone's throw within the palisades, to secure their arms; but Stilwell's men, upon their approach being discovered, made "a brave charge" upon the savages, and followed

* Brodhead.

them up so closely, that the whole attacking force were enabled to effect an entrance inside the palisades, before the natives had time to close the gates or reach their houses.

The Indians stood but a few moments before the murderous fire which was opened upon them, and their chief, Pape-quan-chan, and several of their warriors having fallen, they made a precipitate retreat through the opposite gates of the fort, leaving many of their guns behind them, and followed by the troops so closely, that to escape capture they were obliged to leap into Shawangunk Kill, which "ran in front of the lower side of their maize patch." Upon reaching the opposite side of the creek, the savages made a stand, and returned our fire, killing and wounding several of the whites, when a party was sent across to dislodge them, which was gallantly effected, and the natives entirely routed.

The Indians lost in this attack, their chief and fourteen warriors killed, beside several women and children, and thirteen or fourteen wounded; in addition to which, thirteen prisoners fell into our hands. The whites lost three killed and six wounded. By this important victory, twenty-three Christian captives were restored to liberty, who informed their deliverers that, through fear of the Dutch, they had been removed every night into the woods, each night into a different place, and brought back in the morning; but that the day before this attack, a Mohawk, who had visited the Esopus Indians,

and staid over night with them, had told them that there was no fear of the Dutch, they would never come there, and could not come so far without being discovered; and the savages had therefore allowed the captives to remain in the fort that night.

The Esopus tribe was now virtually annihilated, and the expedition prepared for its return. Considerable plunder was found in the wigwams, consisting of bear-skins, deer-skins, *notassen*, blankets, elk-hides, and other articles sufficient to fill a sloop; a large portion of which was destroyed from inability to carry it away, as the horses were required for the wounded. The kettles were broken in pieces, twenty-four or five guns which the savages had left behind, were broken up and the barrels scattered in the stream. Twenty pounds of powder was captured, and thirty-one belts, besides several strings, of wampum.

Having one more wounded, than the number of the horses, it was found necessary to transport him in a blanket, on poles carried by the soldiers in turn. One of the prisoners, an old man, after accompanying them half an hour upon their return, refused to go any further, when Captain Kregier directed some of his men to "take him on one side, and give him his last meal."

After a toilsome march of two days, the expedition arrived safely at Wiltwyck about noon on the 7th day of September, 1663, bringing back the first news of its own success, and the grateful booty of

twenty-three rescued Christian captives, who were welcomed by the inhabitants, their neighbors, relatives and friends, as persons raised from the dead.

The special object for which Nicholas Stilwell and his company of English had volunteered, having been accomplished, two days afterwards they returned home to Gravenzande.

Capt. Kregier's Journal.
Documentary History of N. Y., IV.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1683.

TROUBLE WITH CONNECTICUT—THAT COLONY OBTAINS FROM CHARLES II. A PATENT UNDER WHICH IT CLAIMS LONG ISLAND—NOTIFIES STUYVESANT NOT TO MOLEST INHABITANTS—SENDS TALCOTT, COMMISSIONER, TO TAKE POSSESSION OF WESTCHESTER—STUYVESANT PROTESTS—TALCOTT'S PROCEEDINGS NOT DISAPPROVED, AND HE NOTIFIES ENGLISH AND DUTCH TOWNS ON LONG ISLAND OF CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT—CHRISTIE ARRIVES AT GRAVENZANDE AS HERALD WITH PROCLAMATION—ATTEMPTS TO READ IT—NICHOLAS STILWELL, THE SHERIFF, ARRESTS HIM—ATTEMPT TO RESCUE, AND PRISONER REMOVED BY NIGHT TO FORT AMSTERDAM—ENGLISH THREATEN TO SEIZE NICHOLAS AS HOSTAGE FOR SAFETY OF CHRISTIE—150 MEN SURROUND HIS HOUSE AT NIGHT, BUT HE ESCAPES TO NEW AMSTERDAM—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PEOPLE OF GRAVENZANDE AND THE COUNCIL—STILWELL'S ACTION APPROVED.

Connecticut consisted originally of two independent colonies—Connecticut and New Haven—both of which were settled under the patent granted by Charles the First to the Earl of Warwick, and by him assigned to Viscount Say and Seal and Lord Brooke, and their associates. New Haven included under its jurisdiction, besides the town of that name, the villages of Branford, Milford, Guilford, and Stamford, all situated upon the Sound.

Soon after the news of the restoration of Charles the Second reached New England, the General Court of Connecticut at Hartford, directed the governor to prepare a loyal address to the king, and a

petition praying for a confirmation of the liberties rights, and privileges which they had enjoyed for many years under a "jurisdiction right which they had purchased from Mr. George Fenwick, and which they were given to understand had been derived from true, loyal authority, by letters patent granted to certain lords and gentlemen therein nominated."

This document was said to have been "lost either by fire, at a house where it was sometimes kept, or by some other accident;" and as an evidence that they had never wavered in their allegiance to the crown during the late troubles, the colonists in their petition declared that "your poor subjects were willing to have contented themselves with this loss in those afflictive times, rather than seek for power or privileges from any other than their lawful prince and sovereign."

John Winthrop, Jr., the Governor of Connecticut, (a son of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts), was delegated to present this address and petition to the king, and as the agent of the colony, to "agitate and transact its affairs in respect thereto," and if possible obtain a charter for all the regions eastward to Plymouth line, northward to Massachusetts, and westward to Delaware Bay, together with the Islands adjacent; thus seeking to absorb not only the neighboring colony of New Haven, but Rhode Island and Providence plantations, and also New Netherlands, including the whole of Long Island.

Winthrop arrived in England at a propitious time for his embassy. New Haven had given great offense at court by sheltering Colonels Goffe and Whalley, two of the regicides, who had been traced to that jurisdiction; and for this offense it was not considered too great a punishment to strike the colony out of existence as an independent government.

Viscount Say and Seal, with the management of whose affairs in America, Governor Winthrop had formerly been entrusted, was now in high favor at court, having been particularly instrumental in the Restoration; and through his influence Winthrop was soon enabled to obtain a patent under the great seal of England granting and confirming to the "Governor and Company of our English Colony of Connecticut in New England" all the territory bounded on the east by the Pawcatuck River, northerly by the line of Massachusetts Colony, south by the sea, and extending westerly to the South Sea or Pacific Ocean, "together with all the Islands thereunto adjoining."

These boundaries, though much narrower than had been asked for, included all the territory under the jurisdiction of New Haven, a portion of Rhode Island and Providence plantations, and also the greater part of New Netherlands; and under the grant of "the Islands adjoining," gave Connecticut a colorable claim to Long Island.

Immediately upon the receipt of the charter, the

General Court of Hartford notified Governor Stuyvesant of it, and desired him not to "molest any of his majesty's subjects within its limits, by any impositions, that thereby more than probable inconveniences might be prevented."

Notice was also sent to Westchester, that it was now included in Connecticut, and its inhabitants were required to send delegates to Hartford. All the towns on the west end of Long Island were likewise notified that they were no longer under the jurisdiction of the Dutch, but were annexed to Connecticut, and were directed to attend to the laws of that colony, requiring them to appear by their representatives at the General Assembly to be held at Hartford the next May.

No delegates having appeared from any of these towns in obedience to these requirements, in July following, the General Court of Connecticut dispatched Captain John Talcott, one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, with sixteen or eighteen armed men to Westchester, "to lead the inhabitants in the choice of their officers, and to administer the proper oaths to such as they should elect;" which Captain Talcott proceeded to do, by proclaiming the people absolved from their allegiance to the Dutch, summarily dismissing the magistrates whom they had chosen, and appointing others in their places, and declaring his intention of maintaining by force the authority of those he had appointed.

Stuyvesant complained of these proceedings as an infraction of the treaty of 1650, by which the boundaries between the possessions of the Dutch and the English had been definitely fixed; and at the next meeting of the commissioners of the United Colonies, held at Boston in Sept., 1663, he appeared in person, and desired the commissioners to determine whether they considered that treaty as binding upon the parties to it or not.

Winthrop and Talcott, the commissioners from Connecticut, pleaded that they had no instructions upon the subject, and requested that the decision of the question might be postponed until their next general meeting.

The commissioners, however, resolved that "saving their allegiance to his majesty, and his claim to the lands in controversy, and the rights of Connecticut under its charter," they held the treaty to be binding, and would not countenance its violation; but advised that the matter should be fully heard at the next annual meeting, and "in the meantime, that all things be and remain according to the true intent and meaning of that treaty."

Captain Talcott, finding his proceedings in taking possession of Westchester thus far countenanced, determined to extend his mission to Long Island. He therefore dispatched a messenger to Middleburgh, the inhabitants of which town had already petitioned to be taken under the wing of Connecticut, and authorised Captain John Coe, a miller of

that place, to announce to the English of the neighboring villages of Gravenzande, Hemestede, Flushing, and Gemeco, that they were no longer under the Dutch government, but under that of Hartford.

Coe immediately sent James Christie, of Middleburgh, to the other villages on the west end of Long Island, to proclaim the change in the government; but his mission came to a sudden end, for he had no sooner arrived at Gravenzande, and commenced reading his proclamation to the people of that town, who had assembled at the sound of a trumpet, than Nicholas Stilwell, the Sheriff, commanded him to desist, and upon his refusal to do so, arrested him. The prisoner, by way of commission, produced a copy of the letter written by Capt. Talcott to John Coe, of Middleburgh, and proclaimed that by a patent under the great seal of England, jurisdiction over the place had been transferred to the Government at Hartford; and declaring that he was a herald, called upon the English of the town "upon their allegiance" to assist and protect him.

The inhabitants were evidently inclined to listen to this appeal, and Nicholas therefore at once removed the prisoner from the village, and confined him in his own house upon the shore of the bay. Complaint having been made to the magistrates of the town, that the sheriff had acted without warrant, they issued a summons requiring the latter to

appear before them, the next morning at ten o'clock, to produce his authority for making the arrest. Anticipating an attempt at rescue, Nicholas immediately dispatched a messenger to New Amsterdam with a report of his proceedings and of the situation of affairs, and requesting assistance.

Stuyvesant not having yet returned from Boston, this communication was laid before the council, who immediately sent a sergeant and eight men with a letter to the magistrates of Gravenzande expressing surprise that the latter had given any countenance to the operations of Christie, and directing them, if necessary, to assist the sheriff in securing the prisoner, and transporting him to New Amsterdam. It being now late in the day, it was determined to wait until the next morning before removing Christie to the Manhattans; but the news of the arrest had been sent to Middleburgh, and it was reported that the people of that town were preparing to rescue him; Nicholas therefore directed the sergeant and eight soldiers to leave with their prisoner shortly after midnight; and by nine o'clock in the morning, he was safe in the keep of Fort Amsterdam.

Upon hearing of the arrest of their townsman, John Coe and Edward Jessup, of Middleburgh, crossed over by night to Westchester, and returned with Captain Panton, a commissioned officer under Connecticut, and a company of men, "to beat up arms against the Dutch." These having been joined

by others in Middleburgh, in the morning they proceeded to Gravenzande, in anticipation of the appearance there of Nicholas, with his prisoner, in obedience to the summons, which had been issued by the magistrates of the town, the day before.

It was not until late in the day, that it was discovered that Christie had been removed to Fort Amsterdam the night before, and the excitement then became intense; many were in favor of executing summary vengeance upon the sheriff, and it was finally determined to seize his person and hold him as a hostage for the safety of Christie.

About nine o'clock in the evening, the English force, which now numbered one hundred and fifty men, proceeded to the bowery of Nicholas Stilwell, upon the shore of the bay, and surrounding the house, sent several of their leaders in to arrest him. But Nicholas having received warning of their approach, had left the house a few moments before their arrival, and from his place of concealment, a few rods distant, was watching their proceedings.

Seeing his dwelling surrounded, and hearing the threats of the enraged people, that they would take him dead or alive, and finding that the force was overwhelming, he escaped in the dark to the residence of his son-in-law, Nathaniel Brittain, who lived not far off upon the same bowery, and sent the latter to see that his wife was not ill-used. Brittain soon returned and reported that

the assailants, after making themselves master of the house, had searched every part of it, with lighted candles, and opened every door, but finding the object of their search beyond their reach, had captured two ankers of brandy, which they found in the cellar, with which they had regaled themselves, and then departed, without disturbing another article.

Nicholas immediately repaired to New Amsterdam, and communicated the facts to the council, who directly dispatched an express to the Director General at Boston, acquainting him with the occurrences.

The next morning the people of Gravenzande hastened to clear themselves of any complicity in this affair; and by a letter addressed to the council, endeavored to show that Nicholas himself had been the sole cause of the disturbance. They declared that "Christie had come in a peaceable manner with a message from Hartford addressed to the people in general, and which he might well have delivered to the government itself. But they had no copy of the message, because the sheriff, as an unreasonable man, and in a violent manner, had seized the messenger, declaring that he was a traitor; and when the officers of the town refused to assist him, Nicholas had threatened them also, and declared that he had a commission to arrest all traitors, and for that purpose was authorized to raise a force of three hundred men. That in three days he would

seize John Coe's mill, and would show the people of Middleburgh under what government they lived. That the people of other towns who were present and heard this, had carried the news through the country, hazarding the state and the Dutch power.

"As concerning our subjection and obedience to you" (the letter continued) "in all lawful things we still remain; but to Stilwell we owe no allegiance, and shall not perform or acknowledge any, we knowing him to be the greatest disturber of the peace that ever came among us; and he alone caused all the hubbub and fury in the town by his violent and unreasonable conduct. Furthermore, we inform you, that the large force of men which entered the town last night, when asked wherefore they came, answered, that it was for one of the king's subjects, and for Stilwell, who had apprehended him, upon the king of England's land"—some other words being used about their so coming, whereby the people would be disturbed, they replied, "that neither man, woman or child should be disturbed by them; and when neither Christie nor Stilwell was found, they presently retreated, and quietly and peaceably went their ways; so if other report or relation be given, neither believe or give credit unto it, this being not all we have to saye until the further occasion is offered."

This letter was signed William Paulding, in the name and behalf of the inhabitants of Gravenzande, and was delivered by Charles Morgan and William

Wilkins, as a committee appointed for the purpose, who on the same day received the following reply of the council to be transmitted to the town.

“Trusty and well-beloved:

“We received your letter by your committee, Charles Morgan and William Wilkins, and consider it to consist in two parts, the first being a complaint upon and against the person of Nicholas Stilwell our Lieutenant. We have heard him and examined him upon these, in the presence of the aforesaid committee, and compared the statements of the one with the other, and consider the difference rather to consist in some verbal dispute, than in any point of intrinsic value. Wherefore we recommend to you both, unity and peace; and if there might have been used some harsh expressions, and exorbitant expostulations, of which he denies a part, and a part ascribes to the violent heat of passion, we will neither excuse or approve of it, except what the aforesaid Stilwell executed in detaining and apprehending the person of James Christie. We should have seen with pleasure that ye had anticipated in this the aforesaid Stilwell, and released him from a great deal of trouble, by which ye would have given us greater content.

“The second part, is in relation to the report concerning the perturbation of these mutinous strollers; and as it appears they have already departed, so we shall not at this time make any further reflec-

tion upon it; only recommending you not to permit in future, similar messengers as James Christie to address the community, but to secure them and conduct them directly hither; at least to detain and inform us of it, with all convenient speed; to prevent by these means the trouble which might otherwise result from it; so that the inhabitants may continue undisturbed in peace and unity, so as they did until now, under God's blessing. Of which not doubting, and confiding at the same time, that you will endeavor to protect the person and property of our aforesaid Lieutenant Nicholas Stilwell, so far as it is in your power, against any insult and violence, we will recommend you to the protection of the Almighty; and remain, with cordial salutation, trusty and well beloved,

“ Your affectionate friends,

“ THE COUNCIL OF NEW NETHERLANDS.

“ Done at Fort Amsterdam,

“ 27th September, 1663.”

The council at the same time transmitted a circular letter to the other villages on the west end of Long Island, warning them against the agents of Connecticut, and requesting that all such persons be arrested and sent to New Amsterdam.

Palfrey's New England.—Gravesend Records.
New Amsterdam Records.—Holland Documents.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1663.

PETITION OF GEMECO, MIDDLEBURGH, AND HEMSTED TO BE TAKEN UNDER PROTECTION OF CONNECTICUT—FORWARDED TO HARTFORD—STUYVESANT SENDS COMMISSIONERS TO OPPOSE IT—AGREEMENT FOR MUTUAL FORBEARANCE OF JURISDICTION OVER LONG ISLAND—JOHN COE AND ANTHONY WATERS RAISE FORCE AND PROCLAIM THE KING—NICHOLAS STILWELL CHARGED TO OPPOSE THEM, BUT HIS FORCE INSUFFICIENT—THEY CHANGE NAMES OF THE TOWNS—CAPT. JOHN SCOTT, COMMISSIONER, APPOINTED BY CONNECTICUT TO SETTLE THEIR TROUBLES—COMES OVER, BUT IGNORES HIS COMMISSION AND FORMS “COMBINATION” OF ENGLISH TOWNS—IS ELECTED PRESIDENT—IS ARRESTED AND SENT TO HARTFORD JAIL—GOVERNOR WINTHROP COMES OVER AND INDUCES INHABITANTS TO SUBMIT TO CONNECTICUT—TAKES POSSESSION OF LONG ISLAND—END OF DUTCH POWER ON LONG ISLAND.

Captain Panton having been unsuccessful in his attempts to rescue Christie, or to capture Nicholas Stilwell, returned to Westchester with his company; but his mission was not without its effect, for it had shown the disaffected English of Long Island, that they could now count upon material assistance and protection, in any open attempt they might make to throw off their allegiance to the Dutch; and a few days afterward a number of the inhabitants of Gemeco, Middleburgh, and Hemestede, joined in a petition to the General Court which was to assemble at Hartford on the 9th of October, 1663, complaining of their “bondage to the Dutch,

which a woful experience maketh manifest, for a countryman of ours, for carrying a message to a neighboring plantation from some of yourselves, has been imprisoned for several weeks, and how long it will continue, we know not" and praying that government to "cast the skirt of its protection over them."

This communication was forwarded to Hartford by the hands of Sergeant Hubbard of Gravenzande, who laid it before the court, and at the same time urged that body to take steps to reduce the adjoining Dutch towns.

Upon the report of these proceedings reaching Stuyvesant at Boston, he returned in haste to New Amsterdam, and dispatched Secretary Van Ruyven, Burgomaster Van Cortland, and Mr. John Laurens, as Commissioners, to Hartford, to endeavor to counteract the effect of this petition, and come to some understanding with Connecticut upon the subject of boundaries between the two colonies, under the new condition of things.

The General Court appointed a committee to confer with the Commissioners of New Netherland, but the most favorable proposition that the latter were able to obtain, was, that Westchester and the country as far as Stamford, should be surrendered absolutely to Connecticut, and that the towns on the west end of Long Island should be left to themselves; Connecticut agreeing to forbear exercising any authority over them, if the Dutch would likewise abstain from any

attempt to coerce them, until the question of jurisdiction should be settled between the mother countries ; the General Court, however, declaring that in case the Dutch should attempt to molest any of the English settlers, it would not "see his Majesty's natural-born subjects interrupted or injured, but would use such just and lawful means as God in his wisdom might offer for their protection, until their sovereign lord the king should declare his pleasure concerning their future settlements."

While these negotiations were being carried on at Hartford, John Coe, the miller of Middleburgh, with Anthony Waters, having raised a force of nearly a hundred men, visited the neighboring villages, convoked the inhabitants and proclaimed that they were now under the government of England, and that the people should pay no more taxes or customs to the Dutch; at the same time they displaced the Magistrates and appointed others in their stead; and also undertook to change the names of several of the settlements, anglicising "Gravenzande" to Gravesend, "Hemestede," to Hempsted, and "Gemeco," a name derived from that of a beaver pond in the vicinity, was changed to "Crafford," but soon afterwards, to its present name, "Jamaica."

A few of the English of Gravesend still remained firm in their allegiance to their adopted country, and with these, Nicholas had been charged to preserve order on Long Island; but with the small force at his command, he could offer no effectual resistance to

the operations of Coe and Waters, but reported their proceedings to Stuyvesant, who immediately sent a few soldiers to assist in protecting the persons and property of the settlers, while he wrote to the authorities at Hartford, declaring his willingness, for the purpose of putting an end to these disorders, to accept, provisionally, the proposition made to his commissioners, for a surrender of Westchester to Connecticut, and a mutual forbearance of jurisdiction over Long Island.

The English villages on the west end of Long Island were thus left altogether to themselves; but while many of the inhabitants of Gravesend were in favor of annexation to Connecticut, others, among whom were nearly all the original settlers who had found refuge there from the religious intolerance of New England, strenuously opposed it; and rather than submit to a Puritan government, these latter preferred to abandon their homes and again seek a new location where they could enjoy the liberty of conscience they so highly prized; and a number of them therefore set out at once to select a site for a new settlement.

Those of the English who had favored annexation, had expected, of course, to be received by Connecticut with open arms; but they now found that the government at Hartford, which "had sounded a trumpet in their ears," hesitated to accept jurisdiction over them, and gave them only "if-so-be's and doubtings," and left them to defend themselves as

best they could, against the savages, or the irresponsible forces now prowling about the island, under the pretence of sustaining the authority of England.

In this dilemma Capt. John Scott, of Ashford, Connecticut, was invited by some of the English inhabitants to come over and settle their troubles.

This adventurer, was one of those, who, with George Baxter and other disaffected English of Long Island, had made himself conspicuous in the trouble of 1654, and had been arrested by Stuyvesant. He had subsequently gone to England, and upon the restoration of Charles the Second, by "bribing a potent gentleman, with a present of curiosities of the value of £60," had reached the ear of those in power; and pretending that he had purchased from the Indians, nearly one-third of all the land on Long Island, had succeeded in obtaining a royal letter, recommending his interests to the protection of the Governors of New England.

Returning with this, Scott had offered his services to Connecticut, to "free those of Long Island, enslaved by the Dutch, their cruel and rapacious masters," which offer had been accepted, and a commission issued to him for this purpose, under the authority of which, he had been about to visit Long Island, when he received this invitation; but seeing an opportunity of so advancing his private interests, he concluded to ignore his commission; and accepting the invitation as addressed to himself personally, proceeded to Long Island, where he arrived about the first of January, 1664.

Scott immediately announced that King Charles the Second had granted Long Island and all New Netherlands to his brother the Duke of York, who would soon send out to make known his intentions towards them; and, in the meantime, he recommended them to unite for their mutual protection, and place themselves under his leadership, which would insure them favorable consideration from the royal commissioners, who would soon arrive. This was assented to, and Gravesend, Hempstead, Flushing, Middleburgh, Jamaica, and Oyster Bay thereupon formed a "combination," with Scott as their President, to govern themselves as an independent colony, until his Royal Highness the Duke of York, or his majesty, should establish a government among them.

Scott had no sooner been installed in his Presidency, than he raised a force of a hundred and seventy, horse and foot, and proceeded to reduce the neighboring Dutch villages which had not joined the combination. He visited Breuklen, Midwout, Amersfort, Boswyck, and New Utrecht, at each of which places he proclaimed the king, and endeavored to withdraw the inhabitants from their allegiance; but although he threatened to pursue them with fire and sword, and to "run through, those who say they are not seated on the king's land," he did not succeed in shaking their fidelity; and the only recognition he could obtain for his royal master, was from those who had ac-

accompanied him, who, upon their arrival at New Utrecht, took possession of the block house there, and raising the English flag over it, fired a royal salute in commemoration of the event.

In the course of these proceedings many of the Dutch settlers having been assaulted, beaten, and mis-used, and some of them driven from their houses, and their property destroyed, a delegation from these towns was dispatched to the Director General to complain of the outrages and ask protection. Stuyvesant, by his arrangement with the authorities at Hartford, had tied his hands from any active interference in their behalf, but he immediately sent several gentlemen to Captain Scott to endeavor to make some arrangement with him, which would put an end to these disorders; and after considerable negotiation, an agreement was effected through these parties, which was subsequently ratified by Stuyvesant in person, by which the English towns on Long Island were to remain, unmolested, under the King of England, for twelve months, and until his majesty and the States General should settle the whole difference about the island and the places adjacent; and the Dutch towns were to remain, during the same time, subject to the States General, "his majesty's royalties excepted."

The authorities at Hartford, learning that Scott was acting independently of the commission which had been granted to him by that government, sent a company of soldiers to arrest him; when he pro-

duced a commission, purporting to be under the hand and seal of the king, authorizing him to govern Long Island. The soldiers, however, disregarded this, as well as his threats of royal vengeance, seized his person, and lodged him in Hartford jail.

Governor Winthrop soon afterwards came over to Long Island, in person, and announced that Connecticut now claimed all Long Island as one of the "adjacent islands" referred to in its patent; and promising the inhabitants full protection, invited them to submit to that colony. As soon as Stuyvesant learned of the arrival of Governor Winthrop he hastened to meet him, and appealing to their ancient friendship, endeavored to induce him to respect the Dutch title to these lands, which they had settled and so long occupied, and their right to which, had been distinctly recognized by the treaty of Hartford in 1650. But Winthrop, now throwing off all appearance of friendship, declared that the title of Connecticut to the island was unquestionable, and that that colony was prepared to maintain its claims by force of arms.

In the demoralized condition of the affairs of New Netherlands, with the majority of the settlers of Long Island in favor of annexation to Connecticut, and many of them actually in arms, ready to sustain the claims of that colony, Stuyvesant could only protest; and with a heavy heart, returned with his adherents to New Amsterdam, leaving Governor Win-

throp to take formal possession in the name of Connecticut; which he at once proceeded to do, removing the officers of the towns and installing others in their stead, after receiving from them an oath of allegiance; and the Dutch power on Long Island was at an end.

The authorities at Hartford, having also purchased from the Indians all the land between Westchester and Spuyten Duyvil Creek, (which the savages had sold to the Dutch fifteen years before,) also "annexed" that, to Connecticut, leaving to the Dutch only Manhattan Island, Staten Island and New Jersey.

Hartford Records.
Palfrey's N. E.
Hazard's Hist. Col.

CHAPTER XXV.

1664.

NICHOLAS STILWELL AND OTHERS REFUSING TO LIVE UNDER A PURITAN GOVERNMENT—REMOVE TO STATEN ISLAND—BUILD TOWN OF DOVER AND FORTIFY IT—RUMORS OF ENGLISH EXPEDITION AGAINST NEW NETHERLANDS—NICHOLAS AND OTHER ABLE-BODIED MEN FROM DOVER ORDERED TO NEW AMSTERDAM TO ASSIST IN DEFENCE OF CITY—FLEET ARRIVE AND CAPTURE DOVER—CAPITULATION AND SURRENDER OF NEW AMSTERDAM—ITS NAME CHANGED TO NEW YORK—ALL NEW NETHERLANDS SUBMITS TO THE DUTCH—LONG ISLAND RESTORED TO NEW YORK—NICHOLAS DIES AT DOVER, ON STATEN ISLAND, DECEMBER 28, 1671.

Nicholas Stilwell had now nearly reached the allotted term of human life, and by many years of honest, earnest toil, had earned a right to that repose in his old age, which should reward a well-spent life; but the same clouds which had darkened his earlier days, now again threatened to overshadow the evening of his career. While yet in the full vigor of manhood, he had found in New Netherlands, a refuge from the intolerance of New England, and now in his old age, without any act of his own, found himself again under a Puritan government, to escape from which, he had, twenty-five years before, fled into the wilderness. He was not, now, more inclined to submit to that jurisdiction, than he had been then, and again he set out to find a new home, where in peace and quiet, he might pass the declining years of his eventful life.

In anticipation of the event which had now transpired, the absorption by Connecticut of Long Island, upon the first breaking out of the troubles with that colony, Nicholas, with a number of other English of Gravesend and its vicinity, who had determined not to live under a Puritan government, had selected as the site of a new settlement, the tract of land on the south-eastern shore of Staten Island, below the Narrows, upon which John, the brother of Nicholas, had originally located, on his first arrival in New Netherlands twenty-five years before, and to which he had given the name of Dover.

A number of French Huguenots from Rochelle, who had arrived in New Netherlands a few months before, had taken up lands in the neighborhood, and for protection against any sudden attack of the savages, had erected a small block house upon the spot. Thither Nicholas now removed with his four younger sons, Thomas, William, Daniel and Jeremiah, and his son-in-law Nathaniel Brittain. Several other English families from the west end of Long Island having joined them, for their mutual protection they laid out a fortified village, upon a plan similar to that of Gravesend, with the block house in the centre, around which they erected their dwellings, and then enclosed the whole village with a line of palisades; and the town of Dover became at once an important settlement.

For the defence of the block house, Cornelius

Steinwyck, a merchant of New Amsterdam, had lent them a small cannon, carrying a one pound ball, and the Director and Council now furnished them a small stone gun, and also detailed for the protection of the settlement, a garrison of six superannuated soldiers, not active enough to follow the savages, but who could defend the village, while the able-bodied men of the place were away.

It was hoped that the rapacity of Connecticut had been satisfied by the absorption of Long Island, and the acquisitions which it had made on the main land, by "purchase" from the Indians, and that the Dutch would be permitted to enjoy, in peace, the narrow territories which now remained to them. Little credence had been given to the declaration of Capt. Scott, that the King had granted all New Netherlands to his brother the Duke of York, and although rumors were rife of the coming of hostile fleets, it was not believed, that in a time of profound peace between the mother countries, any open attempt would be made on the part of England, to seize the possessions of a friendly power, to whose hospitality the king and his adherents had been so greatly indebted during their recent exile; but the revenues which it was represented, might be derived from the province, had excited the cupidity of the Duke of York, and some libels, which had been circulated against him in Holland, had excited his anger against the Dutch; and having bought up, for a trifling sum, the claims of the

Earl of Stirling under the New Plymouth patent, he induced the king, his brother, in March, 1664, to seal a patent, granting him all the lands between the Connecticut River and Delaware Bay, with the islands adjacent, thus including not only all New Netherlands, but also the territory which had been granted to Connecticut two years before.

The Duke of York, as Lord High Admiral of England, had command of the fleet, and determined to lose no time in taking possession of his new acquisition, and therefore immediately set about preparing a naval expedition for the purpose. To conceal its object, it was given out that it was intended only to put the internal affairs of New England upon a more satisfactory footing; and to remove any suspicion as to its real destination, a commission was prepared and issued to Col. Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carre, George Cartwright, Esq., and Samuel Maverick, Esq., reciting that loyal addresses had been received by the king from his several colonies in New England, complaining that differences had arisen between them, respecting their several boundaries, out of which, unbrotherly contentions had arisen; and that complaints had also reached him, "that all his good subjects residing there and being planters within the several colonies, did not enjoy the liberties and privileges granted to them by their several charters, upon confidence and assurance of which, they had transported themselves and their estates unto those

parts; and to the end that he might be better informed of the state and condition of his good subjects there, so that he might the better know how to contribute to the further improvement of their happiness and prosperity," such commissioners were directed to visit the "several colonies of New England, that is to say, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Plymouth, Rhode Island and Providence plantations, and all the other plantations, within that tract of land, known under the appellation of New England, and to hear and determine all complaints and proceed in all things for the settling the peace and security of the said colonies, according to their good and sound discretion, and from time to time to certify to the privy council their acts and proceedings."

The Directors of the West India Company in Amsterdam, still suspecting that the expedition was directed against their possessions in America, communicated their apprehensions to the States General of Holland, and requested that three ships of war should be at once dispatched for the protection of New Netherlands; but the Dutch ambassador at London was assured that England had no hostile intentions, and the terms of the commission which had been issued to Colonel Nicolls and others, having been communicated to him, he reported to the States General, that the King intended to settle the affairs of the New England colonies, in a manner which would be greatly beneficial to the interests of

the West India Company; and that the fears of the latter, as to the safety of its possessions in New Netherlands, were entirely groundless; and the States General therefore refused to furnish the means requested for their protection.*

Upon this avowedly peaceful errand, four ships of the royal navy, the *Guinea*, of thirty-six guns; the *Elias*, of thirty; the *Martin*, of sixteen; and the *William and Nicholas*, of ten, bearing the royal commissioners, and a force of four hundred and fifty regular soldiers and their officers, were dispatched from Portsmouth in May, 1664, with orders to rendezvous at Gardiner's Island, off the east end of Long Island.

The refugees at Dover, on Staten Island, had finished their wooden walls, which were to protect them against the savages, and had begun to congratulate themselves upon their having at last found a haven of rest, when, in the early part of July, Nicholas Stilwell received a peremptory summons, requiring him to report at once to Stuyvesant at New Amsterdam. Captain Thomas Willetts had received intelligence from Boston, which he had communicated to the authorities of New Netherlands, that an English naval expedition for the reduction of the Dutch possessions in America, had sailed from Portsmouth six weeks before, and that its arrival was looked for daily.

The Burgomasters and Schepens of New Amster-

*COUNT D'ESTRADES, 11, 459, 60.

dam were immediately summoned to meet and assist the Council with their advice; and upon consultation, it was determined to put the city in a state of defence, and provision it, so that it could hold out until the mother country could come to its aid. Agents were accordingly sent off in haste to New Haven, to purchase provisions;—a requisition was made on New Amstel for a supply of powder—and upon Rensselaerwick, for a loan of five or six thousand guilders in money, as an inducement to grant which, the Director promised to “repay it satisfactorily, in good negroes or other goods;”—several ships which were in port, about to sail for Curaçoa with supplies, were detained;—and as it was expected that the enemy would approach through Long Island Sound, spies were sent to Westchester and Milford to watch for them.

But at this moment, a dispatch was received by Stuyvesant, from the Directors of the West India Company in Amsterdam, notifying him that no danger was to be apprehended from the English expedition, the objects of which had been communicated to the home government, and were deemed beneficial to the interests of the company; and “neither Director, nor Council, nor any individual, now anticipating any difficulty,” all preparations for defence were abandoned; the vessels with supplies for Curaçoa were permitted to sail, and Nicholas returned to his new home on Staten Island, under the pleasing delusion that the English and Dutch

were henceforth to dwell together in the land as brothers, in harmony and peace.

Stuyvesant, by the advice of his council, determined to take advantage of this peaceful condition of affairs, to make a visit to Fort Orange, to settle some difficulties that had lately arisen there, with the Indians in that vicinity. But the authorities and people of New Netherlands, were not permitted long to enjoy these pleasurable anticipations of peace, for a few days afterward came news from Boston, that two vessels of the English fleet had just arrived there, and that the commissioners had made requisitions by Royal authority, upon the governments of New England for troops, to assist in an expedition to reduce the remaining possessions of the Dutch in America, and that the force so raised was to assemble immediately on the west end of Long Island, whither the fleet was to proceed with the first fair wind.

An express was immediately dispatched to Stuyvesant at Fort Orange to acquaint him of the danger; and hurrying back, he endeavored with desperate energy to retrieve his lost time, and put the city in a posture of defense. Every able-bodied man in the province, without exception, was at once ordered into service, and every third man was required to repair immediately to New Amsterdam, with spade, shovel, or wheel-barrow, to assist in the work upon the fortifications.

But it was too late; for the next day after Stuyvesant's return, the Guinea, the flag ship of the fleet, arrived and came to anchor in Gravesend Bay, where she was soon joined by the other vessels of the fleet, effectually blockading the mouth of the river.

All the able-bodied men having been withdrawn from Staten Island to assist in the defence of New Amsterdam, the town of Dover, opposite which the vessels had anchored, was left with only the six superannuated soldiers to defend it; and a detachment of fifty men having landed from the fleet, took possession of the town without resistance, and raised the English flag over its block house. The remainder of the troops were disembarked on the opposite shore, in the vicinity of Gravesend; and a day or two afterward, two of the ships moved up in front of the city, so as to cut off all communications between Long Island, Bergen, Achter, Oul and the Manhattans. The land forces contributed by Connecticut, as well as some volunteers from the English town on Long Island, under the command of Captain John Younge, took up a position near the ferry landing at Breuklen.

Upon the landing of the troops on Long Island, a proclamation had been issued by Col. Nicolls, and scattered abroad through the neighboring villages, promising all who submitted quietly to the king, the safe and undisturbed possession of their property and all the privileges of English subjects, and threatening those who resisted, with all the miseries of war

A copy of this proclamation had been communicated to Stuyvesant with the summons to surrender; but he, having determined to defend the city to the last, had suppressed it, and it had not been promulgated in New Amsterdam. It was well known there, however, that there were but six hundred pounds of serviceable powder in the city, and provisions for only a few days; and as all supplies had been cut off by the blockade, that any successful defence was hopeless; but the burghers were induced to continue work upon the fortifications, by the assurance of Stuyvesant, that it was only by making a good show of defence, that favorable terms and conditions could be obtained upon surrender; but when the ships which had taken position before the city, were about to open fire upon it, the inhabitants not disposed to risk the destruction of their property by a bombardment, refused to work any longer on the defences of the city, and insisted upon a surrender.

At this juncture Governor Winthrop visited the city under a flag of truce, bearing a letter from Col. Nicolls, and endeavored to induce Stuyvesant to abandon his hopeless defence; but the latter was obdurate, and declared that he would rather be carried out dead than surrender the fort. The citizens, however, having learned the liberal terms which had been offered, absolutely refused to take part in the defence, and the regular soldiers having also become demoralized by the action of the citizens, Stuyvesant had no alternative but to submit; but not, however

until he had obtained from Col. Nicolls a promise that the city should be "delivered back to the Dutch, in case the difference of the limits of the province should be agreed upon, betwixt his Majesty of England and the High and Mighty States General of Holland."

Commissioners were thereupon appointed to arrange the terms of surrender, who met at the Governor's Bowerie on the 6th of Sept., 1664, at eight o'clock in the morning, and articles of capitulation having been agreed upon, and ratified by Colonel Nicolls, and the Director and Council of New Netherlands, on Monday morning, the 8th of September, 1664, the Dutch forces, with Stuyvesant at their head, marched out of the fort, with all the honors of war, and proceeding along the Beaver graft. embarked on board a vessel which was in waiting to transport them to Holland.

A corporal's guard of the English then took possession of the fort. and hoisted the British flag over it; and the English Commissioners having entered with their troops and taken possession of the city, Stuyvesant retired to his Bowery, and the Burgo-masters proclaimed Col. Nicolls Deputy Governor for the Duke of York, in compliment to whom Col. Nicolls directed that the city should be henceforth known as "New York."

By the articles of capitulation all private rights were fully respected and full liberty of conscience in divine worship and church discipline guaranteed to

all ; and the refugees from the religious intolerance of protestant New England, and the Huguenot refugees from catholic France who had made their homes at Dover, on Staten Island, now returned thither, content to rest under the protecting folds of the English flag which now floated over the block house of the town. Such of them as had sworn allegiance to the Dutch government were not required to renounce it, but were simply called upon to take an oath to be true subjects of the king of Great Britain, and to obey all commands of his Majesty, the Duke of York, his governor or officers, so long as they lived in his majesty's territories.

The authority of the Duke of York was in a short time quietly established over the rest of New Netherlands ; the name of which was now changed ; that part of it lying east of Hudson River, being called New York, and that lying west of it, and between the Hudson and Delaware Rivers, was named Albania. But his patent comprehended also Long Island and the greater part of Connecticut, including all the territory which the latter had lately "acquired" from its neighbors.

New Haven had never acquiesced in its absorption by Connecticut, insisting that the charter of the latter had been surreptitiously obtained ; but it was in no condition to oppose the claims of the Duke of York ; and if included under his government, ungodly men, not members of its church, might have an equal voice with the saints, in

the administration of its affairs. With this terrible alternative before it, New Haven determined to submit to Connecticut, which colony, it was thought, would be able, through the influence of Governor Winthrop, to maintain its autonomy, at least within the former recognized bounds of the two colonies.

Delegates were thereupon appointed by Connecticut, to meet the royal commissioners, "and issue the bounds between the Duke's patent and ours." The meeting was held at New York, and after much discussion, the boundaries between the two colonies were established, by which all Long Island and the territory on the main land lately gained by Connecticut from New Netherlands, were restored to New York. Westchester, Long Island, and Staten Island, were erected into a shire, and called "Yorkshire," which was divided into three districts or ridings; the east riding, comprising that portion of Long Island now known as Suffolk county; the west, including Kings county and Staten Island, with New Town in Queens county; the rest of Queens county on Long Island with Westchester formed the north riding.

A court of sessions was established in each riding to be held by justices of the peace, nominated by the governor and council. The court of assizes which, under the Dutch, had consisted only of the governor and council, was continued as the supreme tribunal of the province, to meet once a year at New York,

having full legislative and judicial powers, but the justices from the ridings were now added to the bench.

One of the first subjects to engage the attention of the new government was the establishment of good relations with the savages, and a treaty was soon entered into with the Iroquois, the river tribes, and those below the Mannhattans, by which tranquillity was assured, so far as it could be done by treaty with the Indians.

The privileges and immunities granted to the inhabitants of that portion of the province which had surrendered under articles of capitulation, were greater than those enjoyed in any of the other colonies, and Nicholas now felt that he had at last found the haven, in search of which he had spent so large a portion of his life; and all apprehension of danger from the savages having been removed, he determined to gather his family around him upon Staten Island, and beating his sword into a ploughshare, and his spear into a pruning-hook, pass the remaining years of his life in the peaceful occupations of husbandry.

With this view, on the 24th day of the 8th month, 1664, Nicholas sold to Francis Brown of "Gravesend uppon Long Island in Americha," his Bowery upon the westermost end of Long Island, to enjoy as his own property without molestation, "always provided such reasonable, just, and full satisfaction be made by him, the said Francis Brown, unto my son-

in-law Nathaniel Brittain, at or before the 25th day of the first month, called March, next ensuing, for the houses and housings, which the said Nathaniel Brittain built upon the said land, and that, according to the estimate and judgments of two indifferent men chosen by them to appraise and value the same."

His two eldest sons, Richard and Nicholas, Jr., were among the first justices appointed for the West riding of Yorkshire; Richard taking up his residence at Dover, on Staten Island, and Nicholas, Jr., remaining at Gravesend, of which town he had been a magistrate under the Dutch. William, Thomas, Daniel, and Jeremiah, the four younger sons of Nicholas, resided with him at Dover, and his two sons-in-law, Nathaniel Brittain, who had married his daughter Anne; and Samuel Holmes, the husband of his daughter, Abigail, having also taken up land in the vicinity, on Staten Island, Nicholas found himself in his old age, surrounded by his children, and his children's children, who had grown up around him; and in this patriarchal state, his years glided on in peace and contentment, until December 28, 1671, when he quietly went to his rest.

GENEALOGICAL HISTORY.

FIRST GENERATION.

NICHOLAS STILWELL, the first of the name, and common ancestor of the family, born in England. Married, 1st, **ABIGAIL**, daughter of **ROBERT HOPTON**, of Wytham, Somersetshire, by whom he had two sons:

A. RICHARD, born 1634 ;

B. NICHOLAS, born 1636 ;

In 1638, in company with his two brothers, **JOHN** and **JASPER**, he emigrated to America, bringing with him his two sons, and settled on Manhattan Island, where he married, 2d, **ANN VAN DYKE**, a Hollander, by whom he had six children :

C. WILLIAM, baptized May 11, 1648 ;

D. THOMAS, baptized July 9, 1651 ;

E. DANIEL, baptized November 13, 1653 ;

F. JEREMIAH, baptized January 13, 1661 ;

G. ANNE, born in 1643 ;

H. ABIGAIL, born in 1645.

Nicholas died at Dover, on Staten Island, Dec. 28th, 1671, His will, dated Dec. 22d, 1671, is recorded in the Surrogate's office, New York, Liber 1, of Wills, p. 168.

His widow survived him ; and from the Town Records of Gravesend it appears that on the 21st of June, 1672, Ann Stilwell of Dover, upon Staten Island, bought from John Jansen his house and grounds, at Gravesend ; and that on the 29th of De-

cember, 1672, she was there married to William Wilkins, one of the first settlers, and for many years a magistrate of the town. The record of the marriage is as follows :

"1672, Dec. 29. William Wilkins and Ann Stilwell, widow, both of Gravesend, were pronounced man and wife, by Capt. James Hubbard, Justice."

The record of the baptism of the children of Nicholas is preserved in the Dutch Church, New York.

For an account of the children of JOHN STILWELL and JASPER STILWELL, the two brothers of Nicholas—see ante, pages 21–38.

SECOND GENERATION.

A. RICHARD STILWELL, called Captain Richard (the eldest son of Nicholas, the first of the name,) born in Holland in 1634, was brought to America by his father in 1638. In 1649 his father purchased for him a plantation at Gravesend, Long Island, where he settled and married, 1st, in May, 1655, MARY, daughter of OBADIAH HOLMES, of Salem; 2d, his cousin FREELOVE (who subsequently assumed the name of Mercy), daughter of JOHN COOKE, the regicide.

In 1664 he was appointed, under the Duke of York, one of the Justices of the West Riding of Yorkshire, comprising Staten Island and the western portion of Long Island. In 1680 he removed to Staten Island, where he took up 160 acres of land, upon which his uncle and father-in-law, John Cooke, had originally located. He died at Dover, on Staten Island, in 1688-9, leaving six children :

1. JOHN, born May 18, 1660;
2. NICHOLAS, born January 11, 1664;
3. THOMAS, born December 4, 1666;
4. RICHARD, born June 25, 1671;
5. JEREMIAH, born October 26, 1678;
6. MARY, born July 13, 1668.

Richard died intestate, and his lands descended to his elder son, John, who, however, made provision for the younger children. (See deed, Richmond County Clerk's office, Lib. B, page 575.) The inventory of his estate was filed Feb. 12th, 1688-9.

B. NICHOLAS STILWELL, (second son of Nicholas Stilwell, the first of the name), born in Holland in 1636, was brought to America by his father in 1638. In 1648 he settled at Gravesend, Long Island, where he married, 1st, Nov. 6th, 1671, CATHARINE MORGAN, widow of his cousin, Charles Morgan; 2d, ELIZABETH CORWIN.

In 1664 he was appointed one of the Justices of the West Riding of Yorkshire, under the Duke of York. In 1688 he was commissioned one of the Justices of the Quorum, under James II., and in 1689 received a similar commission under William and Mary. (Commissions recorded in Kings County Clerk's office, Lib. 1 of Deeds, pp. 48-123.) In 1691 was a member of the first Colonial Assembly, as a Delegate from Kings County.

He died at Gravesend, in 1715, leaving seven children :

1. NICHOLAS, born April 25, 1673;
2. RICHARD, born May 11, 1677;
3. ELIAS, born December 13, 1685;
4. THOMAS, born May 16, 1688;
5. REBECCA, born in 1675; married ABRAHAM EMMONS, of Gravesend;
6. ANNE CATHARINE, born May 15th, 1681; married BARENT CHRISTOPHER, of Staten Island;
7. MARY, born in 1683; married HENDRICK JOHNSON, of Brooklyn.

His will, dated Jan. 19th, 1715, is recorded in Surrogate's office, New York, Liber 8 of Wills, p. 384, March 5, 1715.

Letters testamentary were granted to his two sons, Nicholas and Richard.

C. WILLIAM STILWELL (third son of Nicholas, first of the name), born at Gravesend in 1648, removed to Staten Island with his father in 1664. In 1677 a patent was granted to him for 78 acres of land on Staten Island, half of which he exchanged, in 1680, with Obadiah Holmes, for the plantation of the latter, formerly occupied by John Cooke. About 1691 he removed to Cape May Town, Lower Township, with the company from Gravesend, L. I., who established the first Baptist Church at that place. (Barber's Hist. Col. N. J., p. 126.)

He died about 1720, leaving six children :

1. JOHN, born 1681 ;
 2. NICHOLAS ;
 3. REBECCA ;
 4. WILLIAM, born May 11th, 1678 ;
 5. DANIEL ;
 6. MARY, who married Dr. THOS. WALTON, of New York, Feb. 20, 1698-9.
-

D. THOMAS STILWELL, (4th son of Nicholas Stilwell, the first of the name), born at Gravesend, about July, 1651; on the 8th of June, 1670, married MARTHA CALORIC, of Staten Island. Sept. 29, 1677, he took up 63 acres of land on the east shore of Staten Island, (Lib. 1 of Patents, p. 143), and on the 4th of April, 1685, 145 acres more ; in the patents for which, he is described as of " Old Town." (Liber 2, p. 63.)

In 1686 he was High Sheriff of Richmond County. In 1690 was commissioned one of the Justices of the Quorum. (See Lib. B. of Deeds, p. 266, Richmond County.)

He died in 1705, having had children as follows :

1. THOMAS, born in 1671, died in 1703, during his father's life-time ;

2. **FRANCES**, born in 1632; married **COL. NICHOLAS BRITTEN**; died May 7th, 1748;

3. **ANNE**, born in 1675, married **JACOBUS BILLOP**, (Belleau) of Staten Island;

4. **RACHEL**, born 1677; married **WILLIAM BRITTEN**.

His will is recorded in New York, Liber 7 of Wills, page 198. His wife, Martha, survived him and married the Rev. **DAVID DU-BON-REPOS**, of Staten Island, who was subsequently pastor of the French Colony of Huguenots which settled New Rochelle, Westchester County. She died in 1735; leaving a will, recorded in New York, Lib. 13 of Wills, page 29.

E. DANIEL STILWELL, (5th son of Nicholas Stilwell, the first of the name), born at Gravesend, November 13th, 1653. Removed to Staten Island with his father in 1664. Married **MARY**, daughter of **ADAM MOTT**. December 27th, 1680, received two patents for lands on Staten Island; one for 80 acres, which he subsequently sold to Obadiah Holmes; the other of 91 acres, which he sold to his cousin, John Stilwell. He then removed to Middlesex County, New Jersey.

He died about 1720, leaving four children:

1. **NICHOLAS**, born 1678, died 1759;

2. **SAMUEL**, born 1680, and settled at Upper Freeholds, and died 1753,

3. **DANIEL**, born Oct. 10, 1687; died in 1766;

4. **RICHARD**, who settled in Monmouth County, a physician.

F. JEREMIAH STILWELL, (youngest son of Nicholas Stilwell, the first of the name), born in 1661, at Gravesend, Long Island, went to Staten Island with his father in 1664. Removed to Gravesend after his father's death, and in 1691 was a Justice.

He became a Quaker, and removed to Philadelphia, where he purchased a large tract of land (250 acres). (See Lib. E. 7, vol. 9, p. 217, Philadelphia records.)

He died about 1720, leaving three children :

1. THOMAS, born in 1701 ; married SARAH VAN NAME, of Staten Island, and had a son, THOMAS, baptized Dec. 22, 1723 ; who married NANCY FOUNTAIN, and had a son, ANTHONY, baptized February 16, 1758.
 2. NICHOLAS, born in 1705 ;
 3. SOPHIA, who married ABEDNEGO THOMAS, of Philadelphia.
-

G. ANNIE, (eldest daughter of Nicholas Stilwell, the first of the name), born in New Amsterdam, in 1643. In 1660, married NATHANIEL BRITTAIN, and settled on Anthony Jausen's bowery on Long Island, purchased by her father ; and in 1664, removed to Staten Island, where her husband took up 144 acres of land, for which a patent was granted him, September 29, 1677. (Lib. 1 Patents, p. 133.)

NATHANIEL BRITTAIN died in 1683, at Old Town, on Staten Island, leaving five children :

1. NATHANIEL BRITTAIN, born 1662 ;
 2. SARAH, born 1664 ;
 3. REBECCA, born 1668 ; married March 9, 1693, to ABRAHAM COLE. (See License, Lib. 5 of Wills, p. 101, New York) ;
 4. RICHARD BRITTAIN, born 1670 ;
 5. ABIGAIL BRITTAIN, born 1674 ;
- His will is recorded (Lib. B. of Wills, page 1, Richmond County).

H. ABIGAIL, (second daughter of Nicholas Stilwell, the first of the name,) was born in New Amsterdam, in 1645, married

October 26, 1665, SAMUEL HOLMES, who died in 1679, leaving six children :

1. SAMUEL HOLMES, born 3d day of 12th month, (Feb. 3) 1663, half an hour after sun rising ;
2. HENRY HOLMES, born 30th day of 10th month, 1670 ;
3. JOSEPH HOLMES, born 17th day of 1st month, 1672 ;
4. CATHARINE, born 15th day of 4th month, 1675, before the sun rising ;
5. ANNIE, born in 1677 ;
6. MARY, born in 1679.

His will, dated May 28th, 1679, was witnessed by John Emmons and John Tilton ; when it was presented for proof, at the Court of Sessions, they, being Quakers, declined to swear, although they declared they saw it executed. The Court therefore referred the matter to the Governor, who received their declaration without oath, and admitted the will. (See Minutes Sessions, Kings County, June, 1679.)

THIRD GENERATION.

A. 1. JOHN STILWELL, (eldest son of Capt. Richard Stilwell,) (**A**) born in 1660, settled on Staten Island. April 5, 1693, received patent for 160 acres of land on Staten Island, taken up by his ancestor. (Liber 2 of Patents, p. 1.) In 1693, was High Sheriff of Richmond County. In 1702, was a Justice of the Quorum. In 1710, was a Delegate to the General Assembly, and continued so until his death. (See Record of Assembly, 1724.)

He died in 1724, leaving his widow and eight children :

- A. RICHARD, died 1748, leaving will, N. Y. ;
- B. JOHN, of Garratts' Hill (Lib. 16 of Wills, p. 304) ;
- C. JOSEPH, of Norrophyd ;
- D. THOMAS, died 1760 ;
- E. DANIEL, born May 10, 1720, died at Providence, R. I.,

May 20, 1770 ; left a son, DANIEL, born June 8, 1747, who married LYDIA, daughter of CHRISTOPHER SHELDON, and died Sept. 3, 1805 ;

F. REBECCA, born 1693, married EBENEZER SALTERS ;

G. MARY, born 1696, married DANIEL SEABROOK, and in 1743 was a widow, living with her brother Richard ;

H. ABIGAIL, born 1706.

His will, dated Feb. 19, 1724-5, is recorded in New York, Liber 10 of Wills, page 140, Jan., 1725-6. His executors were his brother Richard, and his sons John and Richard, who were also trustees for his three youngest children.

A. 2. NICHOLAS STILWELL, (second son of Capt. Richard Stilwell,) (**A**) born 1634, married MARY, daughter of GERSHAM MOORE, of Brooklyn, and died in 1725, leaving five children :

A. GERSHAM STILWELL, born August 17, 1683 or 5 ; died June 24, 1752 ;

B. RICHARD STILWELL, born September 16, 1688 ;

C. JOHN, born May 9, 1690, and died August 9, 1750, at Jamaica, L. I. ;

D. MARY ;

E. ELIZABETH.

A. 3. THOMAS STILWELL, (third son of Capt. Richard Stilwell,) (**A**) born in 1666 ; married ANN HUBBARD, settled at Gravesend. Was Captain of Militia there in 1700.

Removed to Staten Island, where he died in 1726, leaving one son :

A. DANIEL, born 1696, married MARY, daughter of JACQUES POILLON, of Staten Island, and had three sons :

1. **JOACHIM**, born 1730, married **ANN TENNERS**, and had two sons:
 - A. **JOHN**, baptized July 28, 1751 ;
 - B. **RICHARD**, baptized May 23, 1759.
2. **DANIEL**, born April 4, 1736, who married **ARYT-ANTYE** —, and had three children :
 - A. **JEREMIAH**, born Dec. 1, 1763 ;
 - B. **SUZANNAH**, born Aug. 18, 1762 ;
 - C. **JAQUES**, born March 26, 1738.

A. 4. RICHARD STILWELL, (fourth son of Captain Richard Stilwell, (A) born June 25, 1671 ; married, 1st, September 3, 1705, **DEBORAH REED** of New Jersey ; settled in New York, and engaged in mercantile pursuits, and married, 2nd, in 1722, **MERCY SANDS** ; died at Shrewsbury, New Jersey, April 16, 1743. Left him surviving, his widow and eight children :

- A. **RICHARD**, who had three children ; 1 Mary, 2 Richard, and 3 John ;
- B. **MARY**, married Col. **THOMAS CLARKE** of the British Army ;
- C. **DEBORAH**, married Lieut. **RICHARD SMITH** of the British Army, died Jan. 23, 1791 ;
- D. **CATHARINE**, married Rev. **RICHARD PEMBERTON** ;
- E. **ANN**, married in 1744, 1st, **THEODOSIUS BARTOW**, who died October 5, 1746 ; 2d, **PHILIP DE VISME**, of New York, and was again a widow in 1762 ;
- F. **SAMUEL**, married **HANNAH VAN PELT**, June 9, 1755, died in 1762, left a will (Lib. 25 of Wills, p. 523, New York County) ;
- G. **ELIZABETH**, married, 1st, **PETER WRAXALL** ; 2d, Major General **MAUNSELL** of the British Army ;
- H. **LYDIA**, married Dr. **JOHN WATKINS**, of New York.

Richard left a will dated Nov. 17, 1742. Proved and recorded

March 3, 1746 (Lib. 16 of Wills, p. 89, New York County). He was one of the founders of the First Baptist Church in New York City, on Golden Hill.

Mary, his wife, died Oct. 24, 1746, aged 53 years (see her will, recorded in Trenton, N. J., Lib. 1.)

A. 5. JEREMIAH STILWELL, (5th son of Capt. Richard Stilwell,)(**A**) born 1676. May 24, 1708, received from his brother John a conveyance of a tract of land at Acquackneck, in New Jersey, between the Passaic and Saddle Rivers, and subsequently removed to Hancock, in the State of Maryland, where he settled, and died about 1750, leaving four children :

- A. RICHARD, born 1712 ; settled at Mecklenburg, N. C. ;
 - B. WILLIAM, born 1715 ;
 - C. JOHN, born 1718 ;
 - D. JEREMIAH, born 1725 ; settled at Morgantown, Va.
-

A. 6. MARY, (eldest daughter of Capt. Richard Stilwell), (**A**) born 1668, married, 1st, NATHANIEL BRITAIN of Staten Island, son of NATHANIEL BRITAIN and ANN STILWELL (**C**). Her husband died in 1703. Letters of administration were granted to her by the name of MARY DUSHAU, she having married, 2d, VALENTINE DUSHAU, Feb. 10, 1703-4. (See License, Liber 7, p. 131, New York County.)

B. 1. NICHOLAS STILWELL (eldest son of Nicholas) (**B**), born 1673 ; married ELIZABETH CORNELL, daughter of RICHARD CORNELL, of Flushing ; settled at Jamaica, Long Island, where, in 1706, he purchased a farm from his father-in-law. (Deed recorded in Queens County, Liber B, p. 141.)

He died prior to 1735, leaving four children :

- A. MARIAN, wife of CHARLES MARSH ;

B. ESTHER, wife of **JOHN SAYRE**, in 1735, of New York,
and in 1753 of Philadelphia, shopkeeper ;

C. MARY, wife of **SAMUEL SOUTHARD**, of Hempstead, L. I.

D. ELIZABETH, wife of **JAMES MILLWARD**.

His widow, Elizabeth, survived him, and died in 1753, leaving a will, Lib. 18 of Wills, page 369, New York.

B. 2. RICHARD STILWELL, (second son of Nicholas) (**B**), born May 11, 1677. In 1705 was High Sheriff of Kings County. In 1715 was Colonel of Regiment Kings County Militia. In 1726-7 was Representative from Kings County in the Colonial Assembly.

Died Feb. 6, 1758, leaving five children :

A. DANIEL, born July 2, 1702 ; married Oct. 14, 1735,
CATHARINE JOHNSON ;

B. NICHOLAS, born Dec. 2, 1709 ; married Dec. 22, 1733, **ALTIE DITMARS** ;

C. RICHARD, born Oct. 3, 1718 ; married **ANN CORTELYOU**.

D. CATHARINE, born Feb. 16, 1716 ; married April 22, 1727, **JEROME RAPELYE** ;

E. MARY, born Jan. 1, 1712 ; married, 1, **WILLIAM VAN VOORHES**, Sept. 16, 1731 ; 2, **JACOBAS DE BEVOISE**, Feb. 20, 1734.

B. 3. ELIAS STILWELL, (third son of Nicholas) (**B**), born at Gravesend, Dec. 13, 1685 ; married **ANNE BURBANK** of Staten Island, and left children :

A. THOMAS, baptized June 30, 1726 ; married **DEBORAH MARTLING**, and had a son **ELIAS** ;

B. DANIEL, baptized March 24, 1728 ;

C. JOHN, baptized May 17, 1730 ; married **HELEN VAN NAME**, of Staten Island, and had a son, **ELIAS**, baptized June 24, 1752.

B. 4. THOMAS STILWELL, (fourth son of Nicholas) (**B**), born in 1688; married in 1700, 1st, ALICE THROCKMORETON (see License, N. Y., Lib. 9 of Wills, p. 2); 2, CATHERINE DAY, of Flatlands. Received from Governor Clarke grant of land at Yellow Hook, New Utrecht, fronting on the bay, with a right to maintain a ferry to Staten Island. (Lib. 6 of Deeds, p. 73, Kings County.)

Died in 1758, intestate, leaving four children:

- A. JOHN, born 1709; died Nov., 1794;
- B. THOMAS;
- C. NICHOLAS;
- D. CHRISTOPHER, born Jan. 17, 1716; died April 15, 1780;

His children joined in a power of attorney, upon which letters of administration were granted at Trenton, N. J., Oct. 26, 1759.

B. 5. REBECCA STILWELL, (eldest daughter of Nicholas) (**B**) born at Gravesend, 1675; married, Oct. 20th, 1693, ABRAHAM EMMONS.

Died about 1715, leaving five children:

- A. JOHN EMMONS, born in 1694;
 - B. NICHOLAS, born in 1696;
 - C. ABRAHAM, born in 1697; died in 1733, at Yonkers, Westchester County;
 - D. ISAAC, born in 1699;
 - E. CATHARINE, born in 1701
-

B. 6. ANNE CATHARINE, (2d daughter of Nicholas Stilwell (**B**) and Catharine Morgan) born 1681; married, in 1720, BARENT CHRISTOPHER, of Staten Island.

Died 1728; left children:

- A.* NICHOLAS CHRISTOPHER, baptized August 4, 1702 ;
married CHRISTINA BOWMAN in 1725 ;
- B.* REBECCA, baptized April 20, 1708 ;
- C.* MARIA, baptized 1710 ;
- D.* CATHARINE, } twins, born Aug. 13, 1716 ;
- E.* BARENT, }
- F.* SUZANNAH, baptized July 11, 1719.

C. 1. JOHN STILWELL, (eldest son of William) (**C**) born on Staten Island ; settled at Gravesend, and about 1680 removed to Cape May with his father. Married Elizabeth Perine, of Staten Island. In 1712 was a member of the Baptist Church at Cape May Court House, Middle Township. Left one son :
A. JOHN, baptized Nov. 15, 1719.

C. 2. NICHOLAS STILWELL, (second son of William) (**C**), born on Staten Island ; removed to Cape May with his father. In 1736 bought Joseph Golding's place at Beesely Point, on Tuckahoe River. (See Barber's Hist. Col. N. J., p. 133.) In 1750, opened a public house at Great Egg Harbor, in upper township. (Do., p. 132.)

Died in 1771, leaving seven children :

- A.* ENOCH ;
- B.* NICHOLAS ;
- C.* DAVIS, who was under age in 1771 ;
- D.* SOPHIA, wife of RICHARD SOMMERS ;
- E.* HANNAH, wife of DANIEL CORSON ;
- F.* REBECCA, wife of THOMAS WILLETT ;
- G.* SARAH, wife of MOSES GRIFFIN.

His will, proved May 4, 1771, is recorded at Trenton, N. J., Liber 15 of Wills, p. 182.

C. 3. RICHARD STILWELL, (third son of William)
(C) born at Gravesend ; removed to Cape May, where he died
in 1759, leaving five children :

A. ELIJAH ;

B. PHEBE ;

C. ZENIAH, wife of RICHARD STITES ;

D. ELIZABETH, who died intestate, in 1715 ; administra-
tion was granted upon her estate to Richard Stites ;

E. MARY, who married DANIEL FOSTER, and died prior
to 1756, leaving one son, John Foster.

C. 4. WILLIAM STILWELL, (fourth son of William)
(C), born May 11, 1678 ; married SARAH PERINE, of Staten
Island ;

Died in 1719, leaving two sons :

A. WILLIAM, } twins, baptized Sept. 6, 1719.
B. DANIEL, }

C. 5. DANIEL STILWELL, (youngest son of William,
of Cape May) (C), born at Cape May, where he died in 1793,
leaving two children :

A. THOMAS STILWELL ;

B. JOHN STILWELL ;

Left a will, proved Dec. 4th, 1794 ; recorded at Trenton, Lib.
of Wills, page 101.

C. 6. MARY STILWELL (daughter of William, of
Cape May) (C), married Feb. 20, 1698-9, THOMAS WALTON.

D. 1. THOMAS STILWELL, Jr., (oldest son of THOMAS STILWELL, of Staten Island,) (**D**); born 1671, married MARTHA, daughter of JACQUES POILLON.

Died intestate, 1703, leaving three children:

- A. NICHOLAS STILWELL;
- B. MARY, who married JOHN HOPPER;
- C. ANNE, who married, 1st, PAUL MICHAUD; 2d, SAMUEL VAN PELT.

See arbitration, Liber B., p. 439, Richmond Co., and will of his mother, MARTHA DU-BON-REPOS, Lib. 13, p. 29, New York Surrogate's office.

D. 2. FRANCES STILWELL, (eldest daughter of THOMAS STILWELL,) (**D**) born 1673, married NICHOLAS BRITTAIN, of Staten Island, who died 1739, by whom she had children:

- A. NICHOLAS BRITTAIN;
- B. NATHANIEL BRITTAIN, who died in 1736, leaving two children, 1st, MARY; 2d, FRANK BRITTAIN;
- C. MARTHA, wife of SAMUEL MOORE;
- D. RACHEL BRITTAIN;
- E. MARY BRITTAIN.

See will of Nicholas Brittain, proved Feb. 27th, 1739. Liber 13 of Wills, p. 345; also will of Nathaniel, his son, proved Oct. 18th, 1726, Liber 13, p. 32.

D. 3. ANNE STILWELL, (second daughter of THOMAS STILWELL, of Staten Island,) (**D**) married JACOB BILLOP. Was living in 1735, and had one daughter:

- A. RACHEL BILLOP.

See will of her mother, MARTHA DU-BON-REPOS, Liber 13 of Wills, p. 29, New York Surrogate's office.

D. 4. RACHEL STILWELL, (youngest daughter of THOMAS STILWELL, of Staten Island,) (**D**) born 1677 ; married WILLIAM BRITTAIN, of Staten Island. In 1735, was living and had two children :

A. MARTHA ;

B. MARY.

See her mother's will, Liber 13, page 29, New York Surrogate's office.

E. 1. NICHOLAS STILWELL, of Shrewsbury, N. J., (eldest son of DANIEL STILWELL, of Staten Island) (**E**) born at Gravesend, L. I., 1678 ; settled at Shrewsbury, N. J., where he died in 1759, leaving nine children :

A. OBADIAH ;

B. ELIAS ;

C. WILLIAM ;

D. JOSEPH ;

E. MARTHA ;

F. MARY ;

G. REBECCA ;

H. LYDIA ;

I. PRISCILLA.

See his will, Trenton, proved May 15th, 1769, Liber G, page 193.

E. 2. SAMUEL STILWELL, (second son of DANIEL, of Staten Island) (**E**) born 1680, settled at Upper Freehold, N. J., where he died in 1753, leaving one son :

A. DANIEL STILWELL, born June 8th, 1747.

See his will, proved at Trenton, N. J., Nov. 16, 1753, Liber 3 of Wills, p. 730.

E. 3. DANIEL STILWELL, (third son of DANIEL) (**E**), born, Oct. 10, 1637, married CATHARINE LARZALIER, settled in Morris County, New Jersey, where he died intestate, in 1766. See letters of administration, Liber 1, p. 7, Trenton, N. J. Left one son:

A. RICHARD STILWELL, born Nov. 22, 1739.

E. 4. RICHARD STILWELL, (fourth son of DANIEL) (**E**), settled in Monmouth County, N. J.; was a physician; died in 1756, leaving two children;

A. THOMAS, born May 15th, 1728;

B. ELIAS, born June 10th, 1730; died 1751.

F. 1. NICHOLAS STILWELL, (son of JEREMIAH STILWELL) (**F**), born at Gravesend, 1705; settled at Whitehouse, Huntington County, N. J.; died at Sussex County, N. J., in 1780, leaving seven children:

A. JOHN STILWELL, born in 1730;

B. SAMUEL, born in 1734;

C. DANIEL, born in 1737;

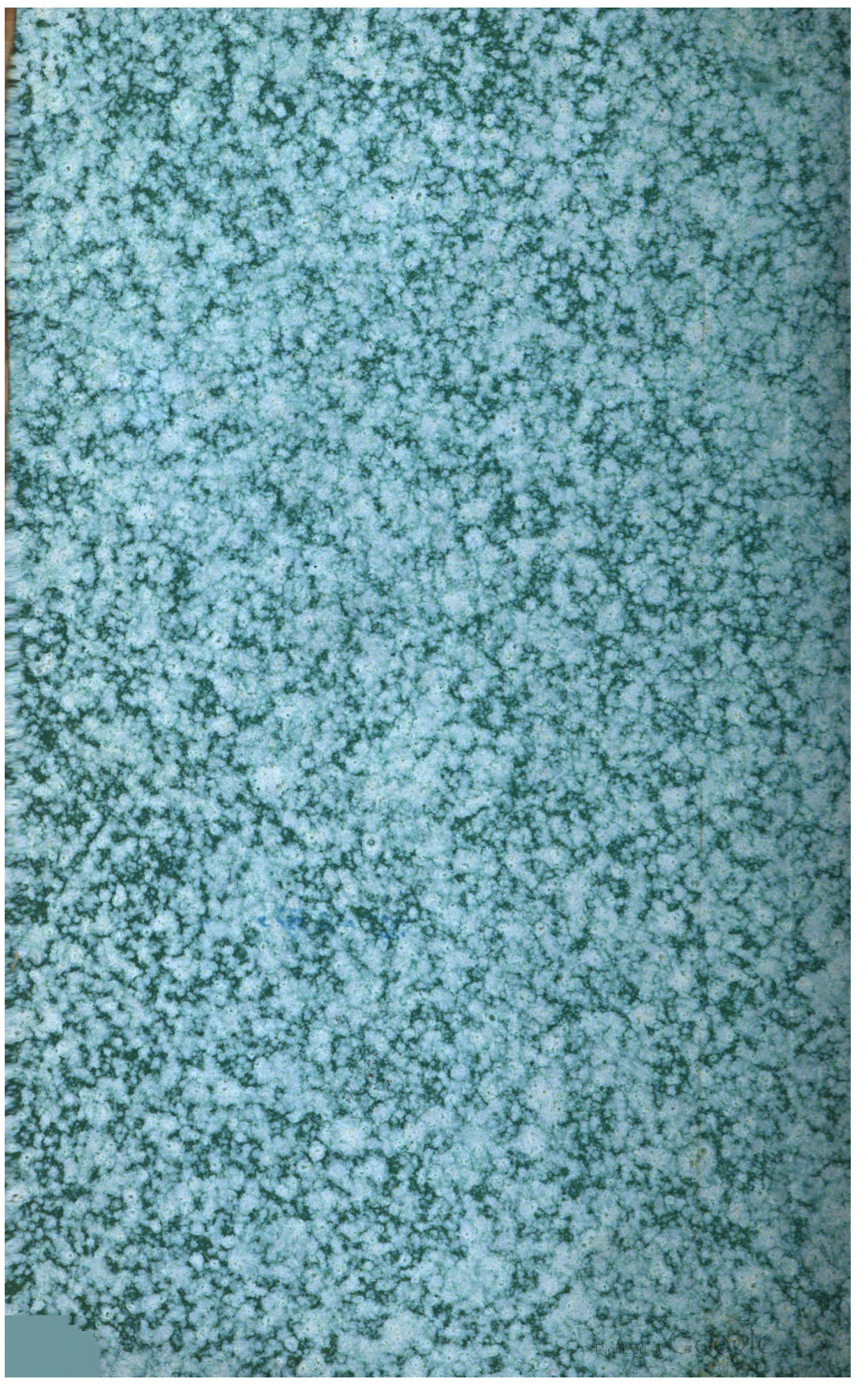
D. RICHARD, born May 25th, 1742;

E. HANNAH, married PETER HENDRICKSON;

F. PATTY, married SAMUEL WILLITS, of Whitehouse.

G. CHARITY, born 1746; died unmarried.

F. 2. SOPHIA STILWELL, (daughter of Jeremiah Stilwell,) (**F**) married ABEDNEGO THOMAS, and settled at Philadelphia.



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